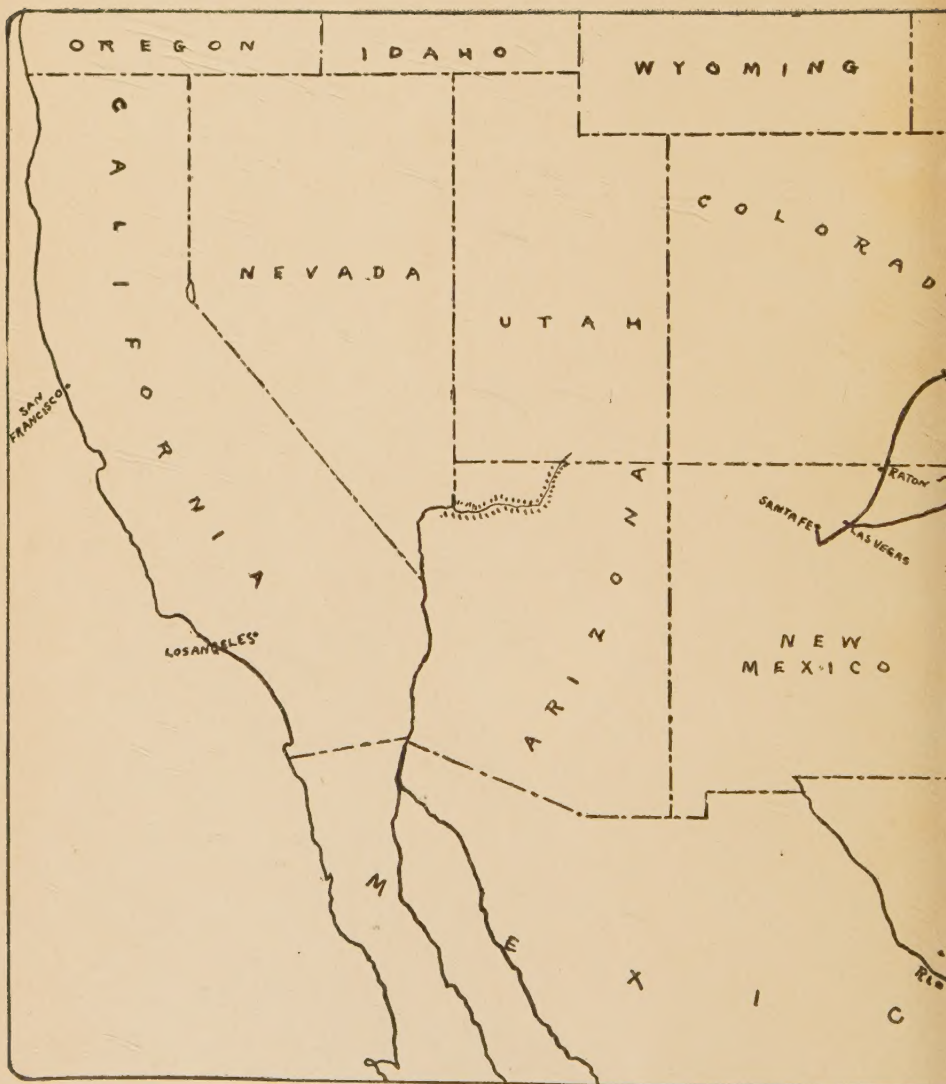
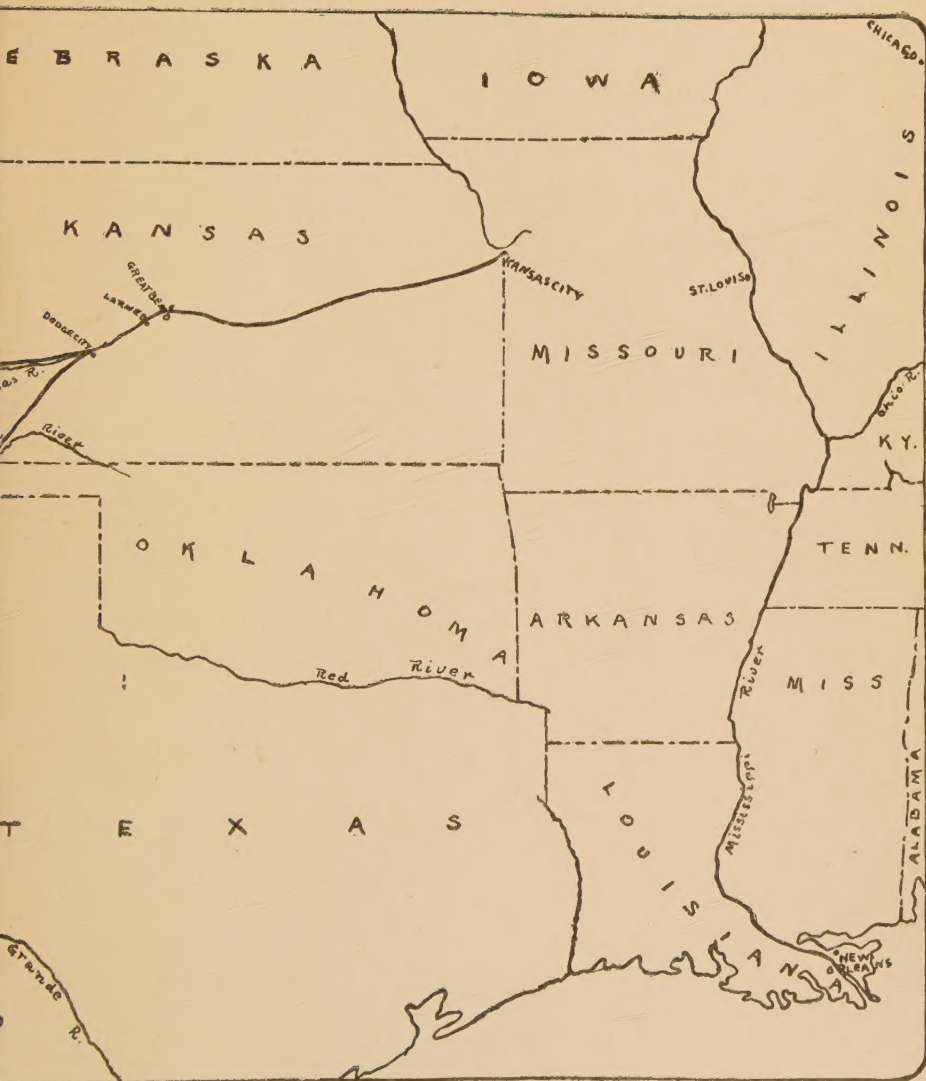


THE STORY OF THE
SANTA FE

GLENN DANFORD BRADLEY







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THE STORY OF THE SANTA FE

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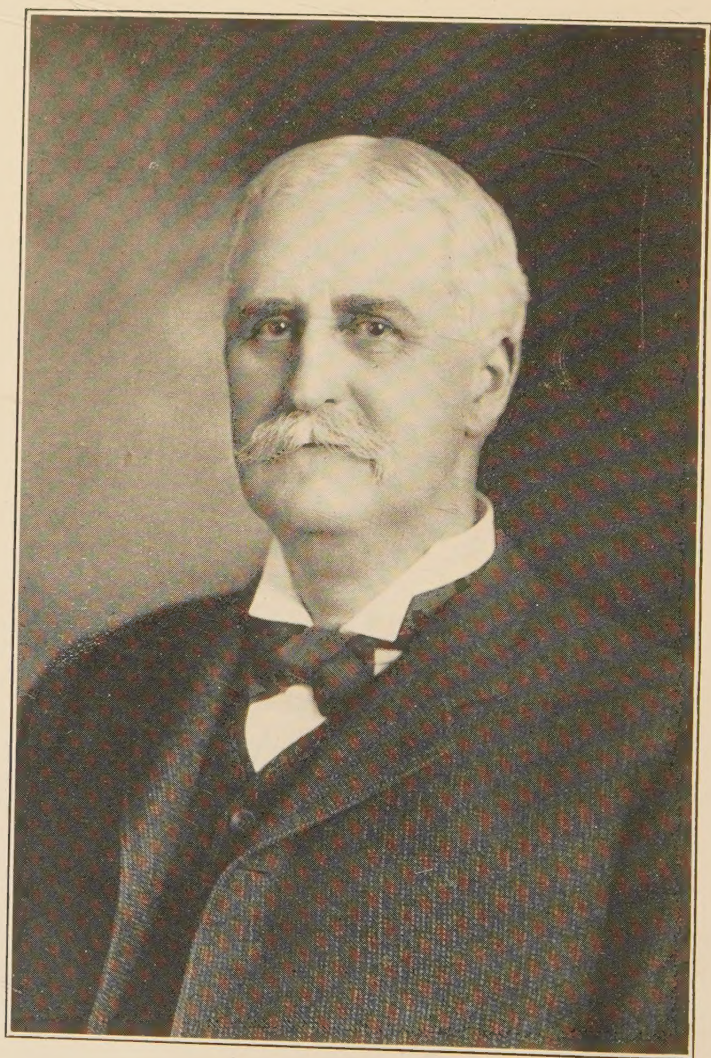
TENDERFOOT DAYS

By GEORGE R. BIRD

OLD SEATTLE

By GEORGE R. BIRD

RICHARD G. BADGER, PUBLISHER, BOSTON



ALBERT ALONZO ROBINSON

THE STORY OF THE SANTA FE

BY

GLENN DANFORD BRADLEY

Associate Professor of History, Toledo University

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Michigan in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

In presenting this manuscript to the book trade the publisher has for the benefit of the reading public omitted many citations, foot-notes, and some quoted source materials such as commonly characterize a study of this kind.



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"THE STORY OF THE SANTA FE"

— by —

GLENN D. BRADLEY



Foot-note Supplement

Although a doctoral dissertation, this book was accepted by a regular publisher, and it has been presented to the book trade after the usual fashion.

Since the publisher appears to have an aversion for foot-notes, believing, no doubt that they would prejudice the sale of the book, he left off nearly all of the citations which were included with the original doctoral manuscript. To meet the needs therefore of those who might wish to make a scholarly use of the book, I have prepared this pamphlet of citations. It will be noted that I have listed each reference by numbering the key words to which it refers, and I have numbered these references consecutively for each page of the book, where ordinarily they would have appeared. My serial numbers bear no relation to the publisher's reference numbers, which appear from time to time.

I regret putting the historical student to so much trouble; but it all comes from having to rely upon the business world to publish a study of this kind. Obviously, the publishing standards of the so-called popular book trade and those of the academic world do not always coincide.

G. D. B.

CHAPTER I

PAGE 17: "Miles" (1). A. T. & S. F. Co. Annual Repts. year ending June 30, 1917, 1917, page 5. "\$630,000,000" (2). Ibid 10.

PAGE 18: "Santa Fe trail" (1). (second paragraph). Authority for this route is Col. W. Gilpin of the Mo. Volunteers. Exec. Docs. No. 1, 30th Congr, 2nd Sess.

PAGE 19: "Plains" (1). This was across the southwest corner of Kansas. A few years ago the Santa Fe Railroad started the construction of a "cut-off" line which, starting from Dodge City, follows almost identically the old Cimarron route. "Las Vegas" (2). It will be remembered that down to 1850, what is now Eastern New Mexico, together with considerable portions of Colorado and Southeast Kansas, were included in Texas.

"Cabeca de Vaca" (3). The best exhaustive account of these early expeditions is probably found in H. H. Bancroft's Works, Vol. 15, North Mexican States, Vol. I, Chs. 3 and 4. I have for convenience consulted Inman, "The Old Santa Fe Trail," pages 1-6 where considerable documentary material is presented. While many writers agree that certain of the Spanish Conquistadores crossed the plains of Kansas, it is difficult to establish the precise routes they followed.

PAGE 20: "Region"(1). Ibid. Inman reproduces a partial account of this undertaking from the "Historical Memoirs of Louisiana," published in French in 1858.

PAGE 21: "Spaniards" (1). For a brief narrative of these many see Prince, Hist. of New Mexico, Chs. 9-12, and following.

PAGE 22. "14.167 (1). Prince Hist. of New Mexico, p. 227

1805 (2) Ibid. 230, Republic (3). Down to 1837 it was a territory and therefore a Department of Mexico.

Trading Center (4). Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, I, 18.

La Lande (5), Ibid.

PAGE 23: Spanish Capital. Pike's Journals, 195 and 210.

Zebulon M. Pike (2). Pike's Journal, "An Account of Expeditions to the Source of the Mississippi and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana to the sources of the Arkansas, Kans. La Platte and Pierre Juan Rivers, Performed by order of the Government of the United States during the years 1805-06 and 1807, and a tour through the Interior Parts of New Spain when conducted through those Provinces by order of the Captain General in the year 1807, by Major Z. M. Pike."

Rio Grande (3). Pike's Journal, 190 and following.

PAGE 24: 4500 (1). Ibid 201,212. New Mexico (2). Ibid 231.

PAGE 25: Journey (1). Ibid, 248 and following.

"Published account" (2). Pike's Journal was copyrighted in 1809 and printed in 1810.

United States: (3). Gregg "Commerce of the Prairies," I, 19.

PAGE 26: Taos (1). An old Pueblo town originally of much importance, about 65 miles northeast of Santa Fe.

Merchandise. (2). Gregg I, Chap. 1.

PAGE 27: Cache was made. (1). Gregg I, 68-69.

PAGE 28: "Pack-train" (1). Ibid, 180-182. Inman, "The Old Santa Fe Trail," 55-58.

PAGE 29: Missourians, (1). See "The Journals of Thomas Becknell" in the Missouri Hist. Review, 4: 65-84.

PAGE 30: Introduced a bill (1). Kans. Hist. Colls. XIII, 141. Inman, 44.

Osage, (2). For this consideration the Osages received \$800.00 worth of merchandise—Gregg I, 44.

PAGE 31: Major Bennett Riley (1). Inman, 46.

Cruel revenge, (2). Gregg I, 25-26.

PAGE 32: Navigate (1). Inman, 142.

Across plains (2). Gregg I, 33-34.

Santa Fe trade (3). Inman, 143-144. Independence was also for some time an important outfitting point of the Rocky Mountain and Oregon traders.

PAGE 33: \$500.00 per trip (1). Inman 144, and Gregg I, 35. These wagons were of a special type, usually made in Pittsburgh. When the trail business became heavy, their carrying capacity was increased to 5000 pounds or more.

Hunting game. (2). Gregg, I, 35-36.

PAGE 34: The "Captain" (1). Gregg I, Ch. 2. From an account of Gregg's first trip across the plains, in 1831. Into four divisions. (2) The caravan with which Gregg traveled consisted of nearly one hundred wagons, a dozen or so smaller vehicles and two small mounted cannon, a four and a six pounder. Its capital in merchandise was about \$200,000.

PAGE 39: Fandangoes. (1). For a contemporary account of Mexican fandangoes, see John F. Hughes, "Doniphan's Expedition," 92-94.

Buying and selling, (2). Gregg, 111-114. A high export (2). Inman 68. Has left his picture (3). Quoted from Inman who reprints it, 13-14.

PAGE 41: Gregg wrote as follows (1), Commerce of the Prairies, 143-145 (written between 1831 and 1844.

PAGE 42: One-fourth its original size (1). All superfluous animals and wagons were sold in New Mexico. Gold dust (2). Gold was discovered in paying quantities near Santa Fe in 1828. Gregg I, 167.

PAGE 43: Was not attempted again (1). Ibid II, 163-164.

Not more than one-tenth (2). Ibid II, 162. Also see table of statistics as to volume, value and casualties of the trade, years 1822 to 1843, pp. 159-161.

PAGE 44: Generally being (1). See any military history of New Mexico.

Americans were detained (2), Gregg II, 166. About 90 wagons (3). Ibid, 177. A route occasionally, but not regularly, followed, went due east from Santa Fe and followed the Canadian River across Oklahoma. Its eastern terminus was Van Buren, Arkansas. Gregg comments on it in Vol. II, Ch. 8. This route to-day is approximately followed by the Memphis Division of the Rock Island Railroad.

PAGE 45: "terminals of the trade (1). See Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. IX, 532-565, "Westport and the Santa Fe Trade."

"Winter Campaign" (2). See "My Life on the Plains," by Geo. A. Custer, and Memoirs of Philip H. Sheridan.

"Writing from Fort Mann" (3). House Exec. Docs., No. 1, p. 136, 30th Congr., 2nd Session.

PAGE 46: "along the route (1). Subsequently the Government followed out the suggestion. Forts Zarah, near Great Bend, Larned, near Larned, Dodge, near Dodge City, and Fort Wise (renamed Fort Lyons), all along the trail, were established in 1864, 1859 and 1864 and 1859 respectively. But much harm was done before and even after these posts were organized.

"the first stage line" (2). Root & Connelley, "The Overland Stage to California," Ch. 1.

PAGE 48: "\$30,000 a year (1). Root & Connelley, 5.

"property assessed at \$18,000,000" (2). Haines Hist. of New Mexico, pages 206-243.

CHAPTER II

PAGE 51: "headquarters of his railroad (1). The general offices of the Santa Fe Railroad have always been at Topeka.

"territorial capital at Lecompton" (2). Blackmar Life of Chas.

Robinson, Chs. 45, 46. Eli Thayer, "The Kansas Conflict."

PAGE 52: "stopped at Tecumseh (3). Now a small village four miles east of Topeka.

PAGE 53: "the townsite" (1). This entire narrative covering Holliday's early career has been gathered from various concurring accounts in newspaper files and works on Kansas History, in the Kans. Hist. Society at Topeka, e. g. Kans. Hist. Colls. X, 206. Wilson "Eminent Men of Kansas", III. Topeka State Journal, March 29, 1900, etc.

"sawmill" (2). Kans. Hist. Colls., XII, 56.

PAGE 54: "consent of Congress" (1). Congress formally consented in 1861, and Topeka has since been the capital. The act of the Wyandotte Convention only made it the temporary capital. Kans. Hist. Colls. VIII, 331, XII, 337.

"many lines" (2). Ex-Gov. Glick, in Kans. Hist. Colls., IX, 467-468.

PAGE 55: "chartered five railroads" (1). Kans. Hist. Collections, XI, 99.. Ibid ,XII, 38-39.

"sprouted between the rails" (2). Ibid, XII, 38; Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1886, 588.

PAGE 57: "a carriage and team" (1). Speech of E. G. Ross, U. S. Senator from Kansas. Topeka Weekly Leader, Nov. 5, 1868. Ross, it will be remembered, suffered political ruin for voting against the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.

PAGE 58: "Each of the thirteen directors" (1). A. T. & S. F. Ry. Co. archives at Topeka.

"this suggestion" (2). Geo. W. Glick in Kans. Hist. Colls IX, 467-480.

PAGE 62: "severe drouth" (1). See Kans. Hist. Colls. IX, 480-485.

PAGE 63: "For years an effort" (1). Davis, "The Union Pacific Railway," Chs. 2, 3 and 4.

"began to work vigorously" (2). For the activities of Senators Lane and Pomeroy on behalf of Railway Land Grants, see Cong. Globe, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong. Part 1. 3rd Sess., 37th Cong., Part 2. July 1, 1862. Davis, "The Union Pacific Railway," Ch. 4.

"appropriations of public land" (3). During the ten years, 1861-1871, Congress made land grants to twenty-three companies. Johnson "Am. Ry. Transp.", 314.

"was written by Cyrus Holliday" (4). Holliday papers.

"the act was general" (5). Laws 37th Cong., 3rd Sess., Ch. 98.

approved March 3, 1863, or U. S. Statutes at Large, 37th Cong., Sess. III, pp. 772-774.

PAGE 64: "Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe" (1). "Santa Fe" was added to the original "Atchison & Topeka Railroad" as a result of Mr. Holliday's increasing ambitions for his project. The name of the company was formally changed to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad by resolution of the stockholders on date of Nov. 24, 1863. The property was operated under this name until Dec. 12, 1895. when it was sold under foreclosure. Company Archives at Topeka.

PAGE 65: "concurrent resolution" (1). Journal Kansas House of Representatives, 1864, p. 450.

PAGE 66: "in government bonds" (1). Johnson "Amer. Railway Transp.," 313-317.

"received 26,000,000 acres (2). Down to the end of 1886, the railroad companies of the Union Pacific group had realized \$39,479'-113.71 from land sales. And they held lands unsold valued at \$26,504,270. Davis, "The Union Pacific Railway," 173.

"first line to be built (3). Completed May 10, 1869.

"scandal" (4). Davis, "The Union Pacific Railway," Ch. 6. Northern Pacific' "Poor's Manual of Railroads," for 1904, p. 580.

"Atlantic & Pacific" (5). Later acquired by the Santa Fe.

"less than 3,000,000 acres" (6). To be exact, 2,944,788.16 acres had been patented to the Santa Fe down to June 30, 1914. Letter from U. S. Land Office at Washington to the writer, Feb. 25, 1915.

PAGE 68: "Gregg had written" (1). Commerce of the Prairies, II, 191-192.

PAGE 69: "agricultural possibilities" (1). For example, the Kansas wheat crop alone for 1915, was worth about \$180,000,000.

PAGE 70: "bonds carried" (1). P. I. Bonebrake to the writer, Oct. 20, 1913.

"Geo. W. Beach" (2). C. S. Gleed in Cosmopolitan Magazine, 14. 466.

"but they were many" (3). Files of Topeka newspapers, 1866-1869.

CHAPTER III

Page 72: "the Record added" (1). Letter and Editorial in the issue for Oct. 7, 1869.

"Dodge, Lord & Company" (2) C. S. Gleed in Cosmopolitan, 14:466.

"by a treaty" (3). U. S. Statutes at Large 37th Cong., 1861-63. Treaties, pp. 247-248.

"a new treaty" (4). U. S. Statutes at Large, 40th Cong. 1867, Treaties, 47-63.

PAGE 74: "In the U. S. Senate". Editorial, Topeka State Record, Aug. 5, 1868.

PAGE 75: "opening ceremony" (1). Topeka Weekly Leader, Nov. 5, 1868.

"it was planned" (2). Topeka State Record, Nov. 11, 1868.

PAGE 76: "an extraordinary memory" (1). A. A. Robinson, a subordinate under Peter and later Chief Engineer of the System, to the writer.

PAGE 77: "beyond all expectation" (1). Topeka State Record, Mar. 24, 1869.

"was reported" (2). Ibid.

"was nearly complete" (3). Topeka Leader files, April 1869.

PAGE 78: "enthusiastic account" (1). Topeka Commonwealth, May 1, 1869.

PAGE 79: "with emotion declared" (1). Details of this speech are traditional; but practically all accounts agree as to the substance of it.

PAGE 80: "account of this excursion" (1). Topeka Commonwealth, May 1, 1869.

"into Osage County" (2). Ibid, May 29, 1869.

"as at Wakarusa" (3). Ibid, June 17, 1869.

"T. J. Peter, Supt." (4). Ibid, June 25, 1869.

PAGE 81: "Cyrus K. Holliday" (1). Topeka State Record, Aug. 5, 1868. Kans. Hist. Colls, IX, 480.

PAGE 82: "willow jugs" (1). Topeka Commonwealth, June 18, 1869.

"by August, 1870" (2). Company archives.

PAGE 83: "about \$36,000." Topeka State Record, Jan. 6, 1871.

"\$168,721" (2). Commer. & Finan. Chronicle 12, 434.

PAGE 84. "on May 16th" (1). Kans. Hist. Colls. Ann. Rept., Mar. 31, 1873.

"Newton and Southwestern" (2). Co. Ann. Repts. 1873, p. 11.

"Newton to Wichita" (3). See files of the Newton Kansan, Dec. 1872.

PAGE 85: "on Dec. 28th" (1). Co. Ann. Repts. Yr. ending Mar. 31, 1873, pp. 6 and 13.

CHAPTER IV



PAGE 89: "from Abilene" (1). Kans. Hist. Colls. XI, 124. Jos. Nimmo Rept. in Regard to the Range and Ranch Cattle Business of the U. S.. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, 1885, pp. 2-5, 27-29.

PAGE 92: "commercial importance" (1). Newton Kansan, Aug. 22, 1872.

PAGE 93: "slaughter of the buffaloes" (1). Kans. Hist. Colls., XII, 221. Smithsonian Repts. U. S. National Museum, 1887: 390.

"double the order" (2). Kans. Hist. Colls., VII, 78-79.

PAGE 94: "for their skins" (1). For the hide of a buffalo bull, the hunter received an average price of two dollars; for a cow's hide, he usually got about one dollar. This was when the herds were still plentiful and the killing was at its height.

PAGE 95: "coming of the cattle trade" (1). Kans. Hist. Colls., XI, 124-125.

PAGE 96: 'extracts from the correspondence' (1). Archives of the Kans. Hist. Society at Topeka.

PAGE 100: "railroad frontier" (1). See "Dodge City the Cowboy Capital," by R. M. Wright.

PAGE 104: "M. W. Sutton" (1). Details of this episode furnished the writer by Sutton in 1911.



CHAPTER V

PAGE 107: "about 3,000,000 acres" (1). Ann Rept. for 1873, pp. 22-23; to be exact, 3,005,870 acres.

PAGE 109: "borrow \$3,500,000" (1). Ann Repts., 1873, pp. 23-24. "direction of D. L. Lakin" (2). Topeka State Record, Dec. 23, 1868.

PAGE 110: "credited back" (1). Ann Repts., 1877:8.

PAGE 111: "vigorous diplomacy" (1). R. M. Spivey, one of the number, to the writer.

PAGE 113: "The Mennonites" (1). Encyc. Britannica, 11th Edit., 18: 132.

PAGE 114: "members of the faith" (1). Smith, "The Mennonites of America" (1909). Wick, "The Amish Mennonites" (1894).

PAGE 115: "privilege of local self-government" (1). Kans. Hist. Colls., IX: 489. Article by C. B. Schmidt.

PAGE 116: "for Cornelius Jansen" (1). Ibid.

PAGE 118: "Case and Billings" (1). Frost manuscript.

"Marion and McPherson Counties" (2). Kans. Hist. Colls. IX: 490.

"simple narrative" (3). A copy of the original furnished the writer through the kindness of Mr. John E. Frost, former Land Commissioner of the Santa Fe Company.

PAGE 124: "200,459.96 acres" Ann. Repts., 1874,:44.

PAGE 125: "suffering ensued" (1). Ibid, 25-26.

PAGE 126: "less than 16,000,000 bushels" (1). 18th Biennial Rept. Kans. State Bd. of Agriculture, 997.

PAGE 127: "newspaper men" (1). Ann. Repts., 1875: 27.

PAGE 129: "Mennonite movement" (1). Kans. Hist. Colls., IX: 495.

PAGE 131: "found them in Russia" Ibid, 492-493.

PAGE 133: "Schmidt's first mission" (1). Ibid, 495; also Commer. & Finan. Chron., Oct. 3, 1874: 350.

PAGE 135: "8000 new families" (1). Ann. Repts. 1877: 7.

"1,282,046 acres" (2). Ann. Repts. 1878: 46-47.

PAGE 136: "series of ditches" (1). Frost MSS.

"sugar beets" (2). 18th Biennial Rept. Kans. Bd. of Agriculture. p. 1037.

"checked by a drouth" (3). Ann. Repts. 1881, 31.

PAGE 137: "one of the directors" (1). Chas. S. Glead in Cosmopolitan Magazine, Vol 14.



CHAPTER VI

PAGE 139: "annual report" (1). Pages 8-9.

PAGE 140: "purposed to build" (1). Ann. Repts., 1874, 8.

PAGE 141: "Pueblo and Arkansas Valley Railroad Company" (1). Chronicle, 20: 357.

PAGE 143: "Kansas City, Topeka & Western" (1). Kans. Hist. Colls., VIII: 145.

"between Topeka and Kansas City" (2). Ann Repts. 1875: 8.

"Colorado in 1875" (3). Ann. Repts. 1875: 19.

PAGE 144: "by more that \$175,000" (1). Ann. Repts 1876: 6-7 and 23,

"in 1875 it was announced" (2). Ibid 1875: 7-8

"El Dorado, 31 miles" (3). Ibid, 1877: 6.

PAGE 145: "City of Mexico" (1). Ibid, 1874: 8.

PAGE 148: "accompanied Mr. Strong" (1). C. F. Carter, "When Railroads were New," 270. Cy. Warman, "The Story of the

Railroad," 126-129. Both popular accounts, more or less concurring, but they do not mention sources.

"this law required" (2). Sec. 2, Art. 10, Act of 1878, Gen. Laws of New Mexico, 1880, compiled by L. B. Prince.

"General Incorporation Act of 1868" (3). Gen'l Laws of New Mexico 1880, Ch. 41.

"another supplementary law" (4). Ibid, 470.

PAGE 149: "over \$2,000,000" (1). Bancroft, Works, XXVII: 771.

PAGE 150: "one million dollars a year" (1). C. K. Holliday to Senator Pomeroy. Official Repts. 1864: 21.

"not more than \$20,000" (2). Warman, 131.

PAGE 151: "In 1876" (1). Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1878: 897-898.

PAGE 152: "resented the intrusion" (1). Hall Hist. of Colorado II: 365.

PAGE 153: "about 11 o'clock that night" (1). A. A. Robinson to the writer.

PAGE 154: "rival town of El Moro" (1). Hall II: 370.

PAGE 155: "Fremont County citizens" (1). Bancroft, Works, XXV, 305.

PAGE 157: "village of 300 miners" (1). Hall Hist. of Colo. II, Chs. 20, 21, 22.

"flocked by the thousands" (2). Hall, II: 447-462.

PAGE 158: "had already made surveys" (1). Memoirs of Lewis Kingman, 156. Bancroft XXV, 606.

"acts of Congress" (2). U. S. Statutes at Large, 1871-73; 1873-75. Code dispatches. Hall, II, 370.

PAGE 159: "Rio Grande laborers" (1). Ibid, 371.

PAGE 160: "decided to extend" (1). Company archives. Original Circular No. 42.

PAGE 162: "San Juan Railroad Company" (1). Bancroft, Works XXV, 606.

"175,000 cross ties" (2). Denver Weekly Times, Apr. 24, 1878.

PAGE 163: "not only refused" (1). Ibid.

"300 more expected soon" (2). Ibid.

"Strong announced" (3). Ibid.

PAGE 164. "presented to Judge Hallett" (1). Hall, II, 372.

"encouragement and help" (2). Ibid B. F. Rockafellow, one of the incorporators, to the author.

PAGE 165: "pledge of good behavior" (1). Hall, II, 372-373. Denver Weekly Times, May 15, 1878.

"night of May 7th" (2). Denver Weekly Times, May 8, 1878.

PAGE 166: "minor violence" (1). Ibid.

"concurring opinion" (2). Hall, II, 373. Denver Daily Times, June 1, 1878.

PAGE 167: "specific Act of Congress" (1). U. S. Statutes at Large, 42nd Congr. 2nd Session, Ch. 354, p. 339.

PAGE 168: "unjustly treated" (1). Commer. & Fin. Chronicle, Aug. 31, 1878. Hall Hist. of Colo., II, 374-375.

PAGE 169: "In New York a syndicate" (1). Commer. & Fin. Chron. 27: 331.

"started suit" (2). Denver Weekly Times, Sept. 18, 1878.

"Rio Grande was reported" (3). Denver Daily Times, Sept. 28, 1878.

"was \$6,000,000" (4). Hall II, 375.

PAGE 173: "an official circular" (1). Commer. & Finan. Chronicle, Nov. 23, 1878.

PAGE 174: "On Dec. 3rd" (1). Denver Weekly Times, Dec. 4, 1878.

PAGE 175: "saw fit to do so" (1). Ibid.

"T. J. Coolidge, of Boston" (2). Commer. & Finan. Chron. Dec. 7, 1878. Ann. Repts. 1878: 10.

"Atchison pay-rolls" (3). Denver Weekly Times, Dec. 18.

"had remarked" (4). June 19, 1878.

PAGE 176: "contracts aggregating \$1,500,000" (1). Commer. & Finan. Chron. 26: 522.

CHAPTER VIII

PAGE 177: "announced a virtual boycott" (1). Denver Weekly Times, Dec. 25, 1878.

PAGE 178: "whose press" (1). See files of Rocky Mountain News, January and February, 1879.

"On December 28th" (2). Commer. & Finan. Chron. 28: 120.

PAGE 179: "hopelessly lost" (1). Rocky Mountain News, Jan. 18, 1879.

"On March 18th" (3). Commer. & Finan. Chronicle, March 22, 1879.

"openly reported" (2). Ibid, March 19.

PAGE 181: "by the opposition press" (1). e. g. Denver Weekly Times, April 16.

"a printed circular" (2). Hall II, 379.

"defiantly asserted" (3). Rocky Mountain News, April 13.

PAGE 182: "Palmer was quoted" (1). Ibid, April 18.

PAGE 184: "a suit in equity" (1). Commer. & Finan. Chron. April 26.

PAGE 185: "Rocky Mt. News" (1). April 19, 1879.

PAGE 186: "Writing from Pueblo" (1). Ibid, April 20.

PAGE 187: "wrote from Canon City" (1). Denver Weekly Times, May 15, 1879.

PAGE 189: "Circuit Court at Denver" (1). Commer. & Finan. Chronicle, May 17. "State Courts," (2): Hall II, 380.

PAGE 191: "an open circular" (1). Hall II, 383.

PAGE 192: "null and void" (1). Ibid, 385. Denver Weekly Times, June 18, 1879.

PAGE 193: "assisted by Justice Miller" (1). Times, June 18.

PAGE 194: "Justice Miller declared" (1). Denver Weekly Times, July 2, 1879.

"Rio Grande attorneys" (2). Ibid.

PAGE 196: "De Remer is said" (1). Hall II, 387.

"Rio Grande mobs" (2). Ibid.

"On July 8th" (3). Times, July 9, 1879.

PAGE 197: "Justice Miller announced" (1). Commer. & Finan. Chron. , July 19.. Times, July 16.

"contempt of court" (2). Commer. & Finan. Chron. July 19.

PAGE 198: "latter was instructed" (1). Hall II, 387. C. & F. Chron. July 26.

"Clerk of the Court" (2). Denver Weekly Times, July 30, 1879.

"In September" (3). Hall II, 388.

"Palmer issued a circular" (4). C. & F. Chron. Sept. 20 and 27, 1879.

PAGE 199: "Rio Grande directorate" (1). Ibid, Oct. 11.

"Early in October" (2). Ibid.

"on account of illness" (3). Times, Dec. 31, 1879.

PAGE 200: "decided that" (1). Times, Jan. 7, 1880.

PAGE 202: "Pueblo & St. Louis" (1). Ibid, Jan. 21, and Feb. 4, 1880.

"by terms of this settlement" (2). Hall II, 390. Weekly Times Feb. 4. C. & F. Chron. Feb. 7, 1880.

"bonus of \$400,000" (3). Official records of A. T. & S. F. Co. at Topeka.

PAGE 204: "The above news item" (1). Denver Weekly Times Jan. 28, 1880.

"On the 4th of July" (2). Ann. Repts. 1879, 25-26.

PAGE 205: "wholly unwise" (1). Chief Engineer A. A. Robinson to the author.

"whereas the mileage" (2). Ann. Repts. 1879-5-7.

PAGE 206: "103 miles south" (1). Ibid, 1880, 14.

"Late in October" (2). C. & F. Chron. Feb. 14, 1880.

"\$5,000,000 in bonds" (3). Ann. Repts. 1880: 6.

PAGE 207: "New Mexico division" (1). C. & F. Chron. Feb. 14, 1880.

"under a new charter" (2). Ann. Repts. 1881: 7.

PAGE 208: "Incorporated by an Act of Congress" (1). U. S. Statutes at Large, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., Ch. 278.

"River Del Norte" (2). The Rio Grande.

PAGE 212: "\$10,250,000" (1). C. & F. Chron. June 10, 1871.

"delegation of Missouri citizens" (2). H. H. Bancroft, Works, XXIV, 606-610.

PAGE 213. "just incorporated" (1). U. S. Statutes at Large, 1871., Ch. 122; 1872, Ch. 132.

PAGE 215: "\$1,854,000" (1). C. & F. Chron. Oct. 30, 1875.

"accordingly a committee" (2). C. & F. Chron., July 22, 1876.

PAGE 216: "Economical reasons" (1). A. T. & S. F. Ann Repts. 1884: 25.

PAGE 217: "By the terms of the first" (1). Ibid, 25-26.

PAGE 219: "secured by a first mortgage" (1). C. & F. Chron. Apr. 24, 1880.

PAGE 220: "Attorney General of the U. S." (1). Ibid Oct. 30, 1880.

"By February 1881" (2). C. & F. Chron., Feb. 12.

"800 carloads of rails" (3). Ibid, June 25.

"raise \$15,000,000" (4). Ibid, Oct. 1, 1881.

PAGE 221: "one mile per day" (1). Ibid, Jan. 28, 1882.

"Jay Gould had gained" (2). Ibid.

PAGE 222: "were promptly elected" (1). C. & F. Chron., May 20, 1882.

PAGE 223: "was thereby agreed" (1). Ibid, Mar. 4, 1882.

"was crossed" (2), Ibid, July 8.

PAGE 224: "west from Vinita" (1). By Sept., 1882, the Central Division had been extended only to Tulsa, less than 100 miles. As a matter of fact, this Division, or the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad has never yet been extended across Oklahoma from East to West, and with the completion of the Western Division, from

the Rio Grande to the Colorado, the Central Division ceases to be of importance in the history of the Santa Fe.

PAGE 225: "with the Sonora railroad" (1). Ann. Repts. 1881: 7-8.

CHAPTER X

PAGE 228: "Marion & McPherson branch" (1). Ann. Repts. 1879: 24.

"In early autumn of 1880" (2). C. & F. Chron. Oct. 9th.

"365 miles" (3). Ann. Repts. 1880: 6.

PAGE 229: "grant preemption rights" (1). U. S. Statutes at Large, 27th Congress, 1st Sess., Ch. 16.

"Feb. 23rd, 1866" (2). Gen'l Statutes of Kans., 1868, Ch. 84. Kans. Hist. Colls., IX, 372-375.

PAGE 230: "62,509.41 acres" (1). U. S. Land Office Washington, D. C., to the writer.

"August 28, 1871" (2). Poor's Manual of R. R.'s, 1888: 742-743.

"largely by self-protection" (3). Ann. Repts. 1880: 6.

PAGE 232: "The local paper" (1). Douglas Weekly Index, Aug. 5, 1881. Kans. Hist. Society Colls.

PAGE 234: "The following year" (1). Ann. Repts. 1882, 13.

"the preceding year" (2). Ibid, 9 and 19.

"No floating debts" (3). Ibid 19.

PAGE 235: "In 1883-1884, several branches" (1). Poor's Manual, 1888: 742-743.

PAGE 236: "Kansas City Belt Line Railway" (1). Ann. Repts. 1884: 18.

PAGE 237: "San Francisco and Kansas City" (1). C. & F. Chron., Aug. 2, 1884.

"it is claimed" (2). Ann. Repts. 1884: 29.

"several courses of procedure" (3). Ibid, 30-32.

PAGE 240: "The California Southern Railroad Company" (1) Bancroft, Works, XXIV: 614-615. Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1883: 886.

PAGE 241: "by Boston capital" (1). Commer. & Finan. Chron. Nov. 1, 1884.

PAGE 242: "committee of the stockholders" (1). Ibid, July 5, 1884.

"abandoning the road" (2). Bancroft XXIV, 615.

"proposed first" (3). Ann. Repts. 1884: 32-33.

PAGE 243: "Nov. 9, 1885" (1). C. & F. Chron., Nov. 14, 1885.
 "into San Diego" (2). The Santa Fe was until but recently the
 only steam railway running into San Diego.

"whip-hand over the Southern Pacific" (3). Ann. Repts. 1889:
 32-33.

PAGE 244: "development of Southern California" (1). Ann.
 Repts. 1885, 22.

PAGE 245: "dividends of 6 per cent." (1). C. & F. Chron.
 April 18, 1885.

"on about 2800 miles" (2). Ann. Repts. 1884: 14.

"By Act of Congress" (3). U. S. Statutes at Large, 1884, 48th
 Congress, Sess. I, Ch. 179.

PAGE 247: "Arkansas City and Kiowa" (1). Ann. Repts. 1887.
 20-21

"From Kiowa" (2). Official Manual, No. 19, A. T. & S. F. Ry. Co.

PAGE 248: "A story runs" (1). Max Naumann in Santa Fe
 Magazine for Nov. 1907.

PAGE 249: "progress was at first slow" (1). Poor's Manual,
 1885: 823.

"under foreclosure" (2). C. & F. Chron. Apr. 26, 1879.

"In the act" (3). Gammel, "The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897."

"month of February" (4). Poor's Manual, 1885: 823.

PAGE 250: "a similar Act" (1). U. S. Statutes at Large, 1884,
 48th Cong., Sess. I, Ch. 177.

"citizens of Fort Worth" (2). C. & F. Chron. Apr. 17, 1886.

"the same month" (3). Ibid. 48:67.

"in a circular" (4). Repts 1886: 21-22.

PAGE 256: "These bonds" (1). C. & F. Chron. Jan. 29, 1887.

"enormous traffic" (2). Ann. Repts. 1886: 9.

PAGE 257: "had become aggressive" (1). Ibid. 27.

PAGE 251: "purchase price was \$8,000,000" (1). C. & F.
 Chron. Apr. 24, 1886.

PAGE 252: "Eastern goods" (1). Ann. Repts. 1886: 22.

"Quoting Pres. Strong" (2). Ibid.

PAGE 253 "stockholders were informed" (1). C. & F. Chron.
 Jan. 8, 1886.

PAGE 254: "wholly upon earnings" (1). Ibid. Poor's Man-
 ual, 1888: 741:742.

PAGE 255: "\$7,650,543.43" (1). Ann. Repts. 1886.

CHAPTER XI

- "had started operations" (2). Poor's Manual, years 1885-1890.
- PAGE 258: "were likely to arise" (1). Ann Repts. 1886: 27.
- "which furnishes it" (2). Ibid, 28.
- PAGE 259: "wanted \$38,000,000" (1). C. & F. Chron. 48, 158.
- PAGE 260: "explicit terms of its charter" (1). Copy of original in Company archives at Topeka."
- "Francis E. Hinckley" (2). B. T. Lewis, formerly associated with Hinckley, to the writer. Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1871-1887.
- PAGE 261: "In May, 1881" (1). Ibid, 1884: 686.
- PAGE 262: "chartered in Iowa" (1). Ibid, 1888, 752. Ann. Repts. 1886: 29-30.
- PAGE 263: "\$650,000" (1). Ann. Repts. 1888, 43 and 112-113.
- "by the end of the year" (2). A. A. Robinson to the writer.
- PAGE 264: "four miles a day" (1). C. & F. Chron. Oct. 29, 1887.
- "6 o'clock in the evening" (2). Archives of Company Eng. Dept. Topeka.
- PAGE 265: "Act approved March 3rd, 1887" (1). U. S. Statutes at Large, 49th Congress, Sess. II, Ch. 383, 1887.
- "completed Dec. 7, 1887" (2). Ann. Repts. 1887: 23.
- PAGE 266: "Under an Act of Congress" (1). U. S. Statutes at Large, 48th Congress, Sess. I, Ch. 149, 1884.
- PAGE 268: "Sibley bridge" (1). Correspondence with Wm. G. Smyser, Office Engineer, A. A. Robinson, Chief Engineer, and Octave Chanute, Consulting Engineer, all connected with the enterprise. Also, "Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers," Vol. XXI, on "The Sibley Bridge."
- "A. T. & S. F. Railroad Co. In Chicago was organized" (2). Company records.
- "In Chicago was organized" (2). Company records.
- PAGE 269: "a full account" (1) C. & F. Chron., July 9 and Sept. 24, 1887.
- PAGE 270: "St. Joseph & Santa Fe Railroad Company" (1). Ann. Repts., 1887: 22.
- "St. Joseph, St. Louis & Santa Fe R. R. Co." (2). Ibid.
- "strategic property" (3). Ibid, 22-23.
- "refusal of W. S. Jackson" (4). Hall Hist. of Colo., III, 125.
- PAGE 271: "185 miles of branch lines" (1) Ann. Repts. 1887: 22.
- "7373 miles" (2). This included 918.86 miles of the Atlantic & Pacific owned jointly with the St. Louis & San Francisco, but which the Santa Fe soon acquired exclusively.

TO
ALBERT ALONZO ROBINSON

OF TOPEKA, KANSAS (MICHIGAN, '69),

OCT. 21, 1844—NOV. 7, 1918

A GREAT ENGINEER, A GREAT RAILROAD BUILDER,

A MASTER MAN, AND WITHAL A TRUE-HEARTED

GENTLEMAN AND DEVOTED FRIEND—

THIS VOLUME IS HUMBLY

DEDICATED

PREFACE

The Santa Fe Railroad added an industrial empire to the United States. It has been mainly responsible for the colonizing, development, and permanent occupancy of the greater portion of that vast region included within the present limits of Kansas, Southern Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and much of California.

As is perhaps commonly known, the Santa Fe System ranks with the foremost of the transcontinental railroads, which lines have made possible the occupation and the retention of the entire great West. For without the efficient and rapid transportation which these splendid railways have provided, it is hardly conceivable that this Union of States as we know it could exist. Situated at a great distance from the older and more populous regions in the Missouri and Mississippi Valleys, that vast area beyond the Rocky Mountains, as well as the Pacific Coast, would almost inevitably have drifted away from the Union due to the mere force of sectionalism were it not for the tremendous cohesion which our Western railways have exerted. In fact it is not unreasonable to believe that the Pacific Coast might to-day be in the hands of some other power had it not been for the rapid development of American railway transportation.

The story of the Santa Fe is fraught with romance, as I trust the subsequent pages of this book will prove. Following the route of the famous old Santa Fe trail, this railroad has pushed steadily onward until to-day it is one of the world's greatest railroad systems. And the Santa Fe is

great because of the imagination and prophetic foresight of a very few leaders. In fact the phenomenal success of this corporation is directly due to four men: Cyrus K. Holliday, the projector and founder of the enterprise; William B. Strong, an indomitable and far-sighted leader; Albert A. Robinson, one of the greatest civil engineers and railroad builders of the age; and Edward P. Ripley, who has ably rounded out the ambitions of his predecessors, who has welded the Santa Fe properties into a powerful and compact system, and who is now one of the leading railway executives of the country.

Commencing with the Santa Fe trail, I have brought this story down to the year 1887. From the reader's standpoint there are a number of good reasons for concluding the narrative in 1887. It was in this year that the Santa Fe built its line into Chicago and thereby became a transcontinental system; it was in 1887 that the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act marked a new era in railroad history; and it was in this year that the Santa Fe completed the colonizing of its land-grant. In fact the really interesting and romantic history of the road ends with this eventful date when the system attained substantially to its present size. What follows after 1887 is largely a study in corporation finance dealing so much as it does with the consolidation of properties, refunding of corporate debts, rate problems, State versus Federal control, taxes, etc. Hence my reasons for ending this story with the year 1887.

Securing the materials and writing this book have been no easy task. My special thanks are due to Messrs. Geo. Root and Wm. Bacon of the Kansas Historical Society, to the staff of the Colorado State Library, to Mr. Edward L. Copeland, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mr. Wm. E. Bailey, General Auditor, respectively, of the Santa Fe Railway Co.,

to Mr. John E. Frost, former Land Commissioner, and to Mr. Albert A. Robinson, former Vice President and Chief Engineer of this corporation, to Mr. Chas. Holliday, son of the late Cyrus Holliday, and to Professors C. H. Van Tyne and J. S. Reeves of the University of Michigan.

Toledo, Ohio.

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THE STORY OF THE SANTA FE

THE STORY OF THE SANTA FE

CHAPTER I

THE OLD SANTA FE TRAIL

AT the end of June, 1914, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company owned or controlled 11,262 miles of railroad, extending with numerous branches and feeder lines from Chicago to San Diego. It had terminals at Denver, at El Paso on the Mexican border, and at Galveston on the Gulf of Mexico. Extending northward to Los Angeles and through the rich valleys of California, it had reached the Bay of San Francisco. Here its great expansive force had been retarded but slightly; for crossing the Bay it had plunged into a wilderness, and in coöperation with the Southern Pacific a great but friendly rival had pushed beyond through the forests of Northern California nearly to the Oregon boundary. In the South it had crossed Texas three times and, advancing eastward into Louisiana, had arrived within striking distance of New Orleans. This Company, which represents a corporate investment of over \$632,000,000, had for the year ending June 30, 1917, a gross income of over \$156,000,000; for the preceding year under less favorable crop conditions its income was in excess of \$133,000,000.

The parent line of this great railroad was preceded more

than fifty years by a wagon road—the old Santa Fe trail. This remarkable highway, the forerunner of one of America's greatest railway systems, played a vital part in American expansion; for it opened the entire Southwest to traders and emigrants from the Missouri Valley and the more thickly settled districts farther east. It was along the Santa Fe trail that General Stephen W. Kearny's army marched in 1846 on its way to the conquest of New Mexico. Famed as an early trade route and as a route of military conquest, the importance of the Santa Fe trail did not cease with the occupation and annexation of New Mexico, where it first terminated. At once it became a highway of colonization. After the Mexican War came thousands of emigrant wagons with traders and land-hungry settlers, some to locate in Colorado and New Mexico; others to push on through the Gila and Mojave deserts to Southern California, there to help rear another great commonwealth. And finally it was the railroad of which this book will tell that transformed the trail into a modern steel thoroughfare that serves to bind to the Mississippi Valley one of our grandest geographical divisions, the great Southwest.

The Santa Fe trail crossed the Missouri River near the present site of Kansas City and took a southwesterly course through Council Grove, Kansas, to the Arkansas River. Reaching the Arkansas at its intersection with Walnut Creek, near the present town of Great Bend, the trail followed the Big Bend of the river west and southwest for one hundred and thirty-five miles, past the historic Pawnee Rock near the present village of that name, past the site of Larned to a point on the Arkansas a little east of Dodge City, where, in 1864, Fort Dodge was erected. Here the road forked. One branch passed south and west directly across the plains to the Cimarron River, ascended that

stream for some distance, and, again striking across the plains in the same general direction, led past the Rabbit Ear Mounds, the Santa Clara and Moro Creeks, and entered New Mexico at Las Vegas.

The other fork, which was more commonly followed, continued along the north bank of the Arkansas to Bent's Fort, Colorado, in the present vicinity of La Junta, and thence ran southward across the Purgatoire River,¹ over the Raton Mountains, along the eastern base of the Taos and Santa Fe ranges and rejoined the Cimarron or "Dry" route near Las Vegas. Continuing still south and west the Glorietas were crossed by a devious route, and, because of the mountainous country, Santa Fe was approached from the south-east. The entire route of the trail from Great Bend along the Valley of the Arkansas through Colorado and Northern New Mexico to Santa Fe is to-day followed with considerable exactness by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad.

Until 1846 two distinct civilizations existed in what is now Southern United States. From the Atlantic seaboard westward through Texas the American occupation had advanced and was still advancing. Beyond Texas what is now our Southwest was Mexican territory with the decadent civilization of Old Spain. The great commercial center of this region, then Northern Mexico, was Santa Fe. Between this quaint old city and the Missouri River lay rugged mountains, and the vast prairies some six hundred miles in width. And this "Great American Desert," as it was long called, had proved an effectual barrier to the intermingling of the peoples of New Mexico with those of the United States.

About 1536 the Spanish Explorer Cabeza de Vaca ap-
*Colloquially called both "Purgatory" and "Picketiwire."

pears to have traversed the Arkansas Valley, following the route of the future Santa Fe trail into New Mexico at least to Las Vegas. Then, across the plains of what now is Kansas, came Vasquez de Coronado, probably in 1540-41, in his romantic search for the mythical Seven Cities of Cibola and the elusive Kingdom of Quivera. Likewise it appears that into this same region came Luis de Moscoso who succeeded to the command of Ferdinand de Soto's ill-fated expedition. These adventures were probably barren of direct results, yet they won for their leaders the honor of having been the first Europeans to reach the heart of the North American Continent; and the fascinating record of romantic hardships which these fortune-seekers left, doubtless incited fresh interest and challenged Spanish courage to renewed efforts in the years that followed.

The next recorded expedition that crossed the plains by the Santa Fe trail route was a caravan of some fifteen hundred Spaniards—men, women, and children—which set out from Santa Fe eastward in 1716 to found a military colony in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Their purpose was to resist further encroachments of the French in that region, which country Spain desired. This enterprise came to nought, as nearly all the party were treacherously massacred by the Missouri Indians—a tribe that has long since vanished—which then occupied the territory of what now is Eastern Kansas.

Aside from these unfortunate undertakings it appears that no white men attempted to cross the prairies until the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile, Don Juan de Onate had founded the city of Santa Fe on the site of an Ancient Indian Pueblo,² in July,

²The term *Pueblo* is both general and specific in its application. It may mean any characteristic Indian town of adobe dwellings in the Southwest. In the plural it may refer to a collection of these towns or

1598, and in January of the following year he conquered the native inhabitants of New Mexico.³ In 1599 the provincial government of Mexico sent reinforcements to secure the country; precious metals were discovered shortly afterward, and by 1640 New Mexico had become a Spanish Colony of some importance, with Santa Fe—the city of “holy faith”—as its seat of government. The period from 1600 to 1680 was in general characterized by Spanish colonizing effort together with zealous missionary work among the various Indian tribes. About the middle of the 17th century the Indians, angered by this over-energetic missionary zeal and the consequent persecutions inflicted upon them by the Spanish priesthood, began a series of revolts; and in 1680 these disorders culminated in a grand outbreak in which nearly all Spaniards were killed or driven from New Mexico. Priests, who were the special object of Indian hatred, were murdered indiscriminately wherever found. For twelve years the Pueblo nations were the virtual masters of the region. Churches, monasteries, the Governor’s palace and the official records at Santa Fe—every destructible trace of Spanish occupation, civil and ecclesiastical, was obliterated. Finally, after some abortive attempts, the Spaniards under Don Diego de Vargas gained a foothold in 1692, and in October of the following year entered Santa Fe in triumph, making the reconquest of New Mexico complete. A considerable number of Spanish settlers returned, and for over a century New Mexico, under Castilian governors, was comparatively quiet as an outlying province of Mexico. Save for occasional Indian raids there were no wars.

In 1796 a census taken by the Franciscan Fathers showed

it may designate the general class of Indians who dwell in towns. Again, it is the name borne by a well known tribe in New Mexico.

³Originally called *La Ciudad de la Santa Fe de San Francisco*—city of the Holy Faith of St. Francis.

New Mexico to have a white population of 14,167 with 9,453 Indians; only the civilized Indian towns or pueblos were enumerated. By 1805, the census, as reported by Governor Alencaster on November 20th of that year, showed a population of 20,626 Spaniards and 8,172 Pueblo Indians—a total of 28,798 exclusive of wild tribes. In 1821 Mexico established her independence, and for twenty-five years, until the American occupation of 1846, New Mexico was a part of the turbulent Mexican Republic.

Without pausing longer to deal with the intrigues, revolts and Indian troubles that complicate its history during the first four decades of the 19th century, it should be observed that New Mexico was an extreme outpost of Mexican authority lying well toward the American frontier. Since this region, which was mainly devoted to agriculture, grazing, and mining, had for many years received its merchandise by the tedious trade routes from the Pacific or Gulf ports through Chihuahua or Durango, it only remained for regular trade to be established directly across the prairies between New Mexico and the American settlements of the Missouri Valley to readjust the commercial relations of all Northern Mexico, and such an adjustment was eventually to remake the map of North America. The Santa Fe trail had its beginning in the efforts of American traders to reach the city of Santa Fe by the overland route. The problem was to get merchandise from the Missouri border into this Mexican trading center, and since liberal profits were to be realized from the sale of goods thus transported, strong inducements for attempting the journey were offered.

For nearly a century after the disastrous Spanish expedition of 1716 no white man appears to have crossed the plains. Finally, in 1804, a frontier merchant named Morrison, of Kaskaskia, Illinois, sent Baptiste La Lande, a

French Creole, on a trading trip up the Platte River, with instructions to strike southward to Santa Fe if practicable. La Lande made the journey safely, and he was followed in 1805 by James Pursley,⁴ an American trader. It is understood that these men reached Santa Fe by a circuitous route through Southern Nebraska and across Colorado. Both settled in the Spanish capital and did not return to the United States. La Lande is said to have set up in business and to have made a fortune from the money with which his obliging employer had entrusted him. Pursley was content to follow the carpenter's trade, in which vocation he likewise prospered.

In July, 1806, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was sent on a peace mission to the Kansas and Osage tribes, with instructions "to ascertain the direction, extent and navigation of the Arkansas and Red Rivers." After holding council with the Indians, Pike with his band of some twenty men wandered into Colorado, where they discovered and reckoned the altitude of the lofty peak that bears Pike's name. Leaving the head waters of the Arkansas, they moved southward, hoping to find the sources of the Red River. After enduring many hardships the party came to the Rio Grande in Northern New Mexico, which stream they wrongly supposed was the Red. Still believing themselves within United States territory, they erected on the banks of the stream a small fort, where they decided to pass the remainder of the winter. It was now early in February, 1807, and in the spring they planned to float down this imagined Red River along the American boundary to Natchitoches.

But since their barricade was well within the limits of Mexico, Pike and his men were visited, late in February, by a greatly superior Spanish force whose officers induced them

⁴ Also called Purcell.

half-unwillingly to go to Santa Fe on the pretext that Governor Alencaster desired to see them. The trip, which began on the 26th, was made without incident, the capital being reached on March 3rd. Pike describes Santa Fe as a city a mile in length and about three streets wide, built on a creek. "Its appearance from a distance struck my mind with the same effect as a fleet of flat boats which are seen in the spring and fall seasons descending the Ohio. There are two churches, the magnificence of whose steeples forms a striking contrast to the miserable appearance of the houses. On the north side of the town is the square of soldiers' houses equal to 120 or 140 on each flank. The public square is in the center of the town, on the north side of which is situated the palace or Government house, with the quarters for the guards, etc. The other side of the square is occupied by the clergy and public offices. In general, the houses have a shed before the front, some of which have a flooring of brick; the consequence is that the streets are very narrow, say in general 25 feet. The supposed population is 4,500."

Although courteously received, Pike was cross-examined by the Governor, who then ordered him and his men to proceed under an armed escort to the Commandant-General in Chihuahua. This journey far into Old Mexico began on March 5th, and Chihuahua was reached April 2nd. En route, Pike was much impressed by the sight of two large trading caravans, laden with goods for New Mexico. In Chihuahua the Americans were detained some weeks, but during this time they were hospitably entertained. General Salcedo, the Commandant, examined Pike's official papers and requested him to write a short account of his travels, presumably to elucidate Pike's reports. On the 28th of April the party were sent eastward again under Spanish escort to Natchitoches, the nearest American post. The long and tiresome

journey across Mexico and Texas was somewhat relieved by the cordial treatment they enjoyed from time to time by Spanish gentry or rancheros. At San Antonio they were cordially received by Don Antonio Cordero and Don Simonde Herrera, governors of Texas and Coahuila and of the Kingdom of New Leon,⁵ respectively, "whose super-excellent qualities would require the pen of a master to do justice." Natchitoches was safely reached on July 1st, and Pike's historic expedition had ended.

It was the published account of this expedition, the details of which otherwise would be of no importance here, that gave the initial impulse to the trade movement over the Santa Fe trail. This document has been of singular importance. It revealed to the people of the United States, on unquestionable authority, the remarkable commercial opportunities to be had in far-off New Mexico and beyond. It excited the cupidity of the American frontier traders; ere long a definite line of communication was established between Santa Fe and the Missouri border towns. And this commercial invasion was a long step toward the military occupation and permanent acquisition of this territory by the United States, forty years later.

In passing, it may be well to note briefly some of the more conspicuous pioneer efforts in the Santa Fe trade. In the year 1812 a small caravan in charge of about a dozen men was equipped under the direction of Messrs. McKnight, Beard and Chambers. Following Pike's directions, this party finally reached Santa Fe, only to meet serious trouble. It happened that two years before, a patriotic chief, Hidalgo, had revolted and declared Mexico independent of Spain. This outbreak failed; Hidalgo was executed in 1811, and the Spanish royalists at once became intensely suspicious of

⁵ Old Mexican provinces under the Spanish regime.

all strangers or foreigners. McKnight, Beard, Chambers, and party, doubtless ignorant of this state of affairs, were at once seized as spies on arriving at the capital. Their goods were confiscated, and the unfortunate traders were then hurried to Chihuahua and thrust into prison. Here they were confined for nine years, until Iturbide finally established the independence of Mexico in 1821. Returning to the United States, these men, so impressed were they with the business prospects in New Mexico, at once began to fit out a new expedition.

Likewise in 1812 a Captain Becknell with only four companions made a successful trip to Santa Fe, where they sold their goods at a large profit. For some reason or other the Spaniards did not molest this party. Leaving his men in Santa Fe, Becknell returned to Missouri with glowing reports of the trading prospects he had found. Since up to this time, as we have seen, New Mexico had been receiving all her goods by the enormously expensive caravan routes from the distant southern provinces; and since common calicoes sold in Santa Fe for two and three dollars a *vara* (a Spanish yard of 33 inches), it is not to be wondered that thrifty American merchants began to take keen interest in the overland trade.

Following Becknell's return, a Colonel Cooper with a band of about fifteen men made a trip to Taos with several thousand dollars' worth of merchandise. About a month after Cooper's party had left, Becknell started on his second trip, this time with some thirty men and a five thousand dollar assortment of goods. On reaching the "Caches" on the upper Arkansas not far from Dodge City, Becknell conceived the bold plan of avoiding the longer route through Colorado and striking directly across country to Santa Fe. While, as has been mentioned, this Cimarron or Dry Route

later came to be used considerably, its course, though direct, was then unknown. Finally, after two days' march, the prairie travelers nearly died of thirst before reaching the Cimarron River. They were glad to retrace their steps to the Arkansas, whence they proceeded with more caution to Taos, whither they were glad to divert their journey to avoid further risk and delay. While these overland traders suffered many hardships, the topography of the route soon became so well known that little difficulty was afterwards experienced through lack of water.

In 1822, Beard and Chambers, having returned to the United States, persuaded some St. Louis capitalists to finance a new expedition of moderate size. As the season was now far advanced it was unsafe to attempt the trip before the following spring; but undismayed, and lured on by the hope of large profits, the little party set forth. Overtaken by a big snowstorm while on the Arkansas in Southwest Kansas, they were obliged to take shelter on an island in the river. Here, because of a violent winter, they were compelled to remain three months, during which interval most of their pack-animals perished. With the opening of spring they resolved to *cache* their goods, go on to Taos for fresh mules and return for their property. This plan was actually carried out and a financial disaster was thus averted.

The *cache*,⁶ though first used by the Canadian French traders and trappers, was occasionally resorted to along the Santa Fe trail. A *cache* was made by digging a large hole shaped much like a cistern. The earthen walls were then lined with sticks or dry grass to protect the contents of the pit from dampness. Here goods were concealed, the opening was closed so as to shed rain, and this improvised storehouse proved quite satisfactory. To guard against damage

⁶ *Cache* means in Spanish a place of concealment.

from floods the *cache* was usually located on a slight elevation. Lest thieving Indians might be attracted to the spot, the plainsmen used much skill in concealing its whereabouts. To that end, the loose earth taken from the hole was always removed some distance, and if a stream were near, it was thrown into the water. The opening of the pit would then be carefully sodded. If no green turf were to be had, a camp-fire would be built upon the site or animals penned over it so as to remove all signs of the hidden storehouse.

A history of the Santa Fe trail really divides itself into three parts: (1) the pack-mule period, 1812-1824; (2) the ox-wagon period, 1824-1848; and (3) the stage-coach period, 1848-1872. Prior to 1822, expeditions over the trail were relatively small and individual enterprises. It was not until caravans began to make the trip in 1822 that the real Santa Fe trade began.

The mule-train so long employed in Latin-American countries was a picturesque means of transportation. Americans often carried goods on mule-back during the early decades of the last century, yet the mule-train in the Southwest was of Spanish or Mexican origin. The pack train was called an *atajo* in Spanish; the pack mule was the *mule de carga*. In starting, the saddle or *aparejo*, which was a large pad of leather nearly square and stuffed with hay, was thrown over the animal's back. Under this *aparejo* had been placed a sheepskin or *salea* to prevent chafing; and over the *salea* was a saddle cloth or *xerga*, usually of some bright color, which covered the back and extended half way down the sides. To prevent its slipping the *aparejo* was lashed very tightly to the mule; and to render it still more secure, this saddle was equipped with a large crupper. The *carga*, if a single package, was laid across the *aparejo*; but if the load comprised two packages they were placed length-

wise side by side and being coupled with a cord were bound upon the pack saddle with a long rope of sea grass or raw-hide which was tightly entwined about the packages. The *carga* was then covered with a storm cloth for protection against bad weather. The load of a *mule de carga* was about three hundred pounds. The caravan or *atajo* numbered from fifty to two hundred mules and made from twelve to fifteen miles during a day's journey, which lasted five or six hours and was made without stopping. Since a mule will generally lie down when tired, and in such a case it was difficult or impossible to get a loaded mule onto its feet, no rest was attempted until the *jornado* or day's journey was completed. While on the move, the *arrieros* or muleteers were busy keeping the *aparejos*—which were always slipping—in place. About six drivers were required for each fifty mules. Mexican *arrieros* were paid from two to five dollars per month, together with rations consisting of corn and *frijoles*, native beans. While en route, the cook led the procession with the *mulera* or bell-mare. At night, the animals were turned loose to browse in charge of a watchman called the *savanero*. The tinkling bell worn by the *mulera* kept the animals from straying and because of their strange attachment for the bell-mare, tethers and hobbles were quite unnecessary, provided hostile Indians were not prowling about. Such was the Mexican pack train. And while Americans may have made some slight modifications, it was after this general fashion that the commerce of the Southwest was transported down to 1824. The mule-train is still common in Latin America.

That same year, the first really large caravan in charge of about eighty Missourians, some of them men of prominence, set out for Santa Fe with a shipment valued at more than \$25,000.00. While certain members of this expedition employed pack mules, twenty-five vehicles, together with

road-wagons, carts and carriages, were included in the outfit. The trip was a commercial success, and it demonstrated the practicability of using wagons in the trade. While several years elapsed before wealthy men invested heavily, this experiment of 1824 marked an epoch in the history of the trail. Whereas, down to this time the trade had been characterized by individual enterprises, by small merchants who bought goods and transported them independently, the second period witnessed the growth of soundly organized companies that sent out long wagon trains and did business as common carriers. And until the coming of the railroads fifty years later, New Mexico was to receive her merchandise through this means of transportation. During the period 1824-1848 the overland trade passed from isolated random enterprise into a capitalistic business. This was due to natural causes. By 1824 the Mexican Government, encouraged by the prospect of big tariff revenues from the overland wagons, assumed a half friendly attitude. Traders could now enter New Mexico without fear of being arrested as spies or smugglers. With this restraint taken away, capital was naturally attracted to the enterprise by the profits which it offered. And finally, it is the inevitable tendency of the transportation business to grow larger.

By 1824 the importance of the Santa Fe trade was such as to attract the attention of Congress. In January, 1825, Senator T. H. Benton introduced a bill into the Senate authorizing the President to appoint a commission to survey the route from the Missouri River to the boundary line of New Mexico, whence in conjunction with the Mexican Government the road was to be extended to Santa Fe. Signing this bill was one of the last official acts of President James Monroe, and his successor, John Quincy Adams, attempted in good faith to carry the bill into effect. August 10, 1825,

Messrs. Reeves, Sibley and Mathers, who were commissioned by the President to lay out the trail, met with some bands of Osages and concluded a treaty whereby these Indians agreed to allow citizens of the United States and Mexico to pass through their domains unmolested in the pursuit of trade. Before the end of the year an expedition under Major Sibley had commenced marking the route, which work though never completed was pursued intermittently for three years. The Government, however, failed to effect an understanding with the Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Pawnees far out on the plains, and these warlike tribes soon began to make raids upon the prairie commerce. Yet the business went on and the traders continued to follow the trail through the Arkansas Valley, relying upon their own weapons and the scanty protection of a detachment of troops.

In 1829 the Indians had become so serious a menace that the Federal Government, on petition from the traders, detailed three companies of infantry and one of riflemen under Major Bennett Riley to escort the big annual caravan from Franklin, Missouri, to Choteau's Island on the Mexican border. This was well and good, but there was never any guarantee that Mexico would police her end of the trail, and so there was always risk. Besides, a few companies of troops could do little more than protect wagon trains immediately under their care. So swift and sudden were Indian attacks that the smaller caravans were always in danger while passing through hostile Indian country. The history of the Santa Fe trail abounds with stories of Indian raids, pillage and bloodshed. This was probably inevitable. The fierce prairie tribes naturally resented the intrusion into their country by the great caravans. And again, the wanton crimes which reckless white men frequently committed upon the natives often incited much trouble and cruel revenge.

White traders often inflicted shameful outrages upon peaceably disposed Indians.

For some years the eastern headquarters and outfitting place for the Santa Fe traders was Franklin, Missouri, a small town on the Missouri River about one hundred and fifty miles west of St. Louis. In 1819 steamboats began to navigate the river and as the overland trade grew, it soon became the policy to ship goods and supplies by water as far west as possible. In 1827 trading posts had sprung up at Blue Mills, Fort Osage, and Independence, all near the present site of Kansas City. This change eliminated more than one hundred miles of teaming over bad roads. For several years Blue Mills was the common landing place where goods were transferred from boats to wagons. But since Independence was the county-seat and the largest town in the locality, it gradually assumed the terminal business, and by 1832 had become recognized as the actual headquarters for the Santa Fe trade. Here assembled large numbers of traders, trappers, teamsters, wagon-bosses, half-breeds—frontiersmen of all descriptions. Into this strange community also there came from the East persons broken in health as well as fortune who sought to recuperate health and purse in an adventure across the plains.

Articles intended for the Santa Fe trade were purchased in St. Louis and consigned by steamer to Aull and Company of Independence, who usually fitted out the traders with goods, provisions, or draft animals as the case demanded. The bacon and beef required to supply the caravans were furnished by the neighboring farmers, who killed and cured their meat, hauled it to town and sold it. These farmers also had their wheat ground at local mills whereupon they found an excellent market for their flour as well as beans, corn and all staple provisions. Those were flush times for the mer-



OLD SANTA FE

chants and farmers of that section. Not only was there an excessive demand for goods and foodstuffs; but mules and oxen were also desired at fancy prices. During the Thirties and early Forties, Independence was the best market for cattle, mules, and wagons west of St. Louis. Thousands of merchandise wagons, each drawn by from eight to twelve mules, or the same number of oxen, were leaving the town annually. Several thousand teamsters and packers made their headquarters there. While on duty these men received from \$25.00 to \$50.00 per month and rations. They had no guarantee of safety other than was furnished by their own fighting strength. There were no employers' liability laws in those days.

The price charged for hauling freight to Santa Fe was from ten to twelve dollars per hundred pounds. After the business was well organized each wagon averaged about \$500.00 per trip, which lasted from eighty to ninety days. Some of the faster caravans made the journey in even better time. Horses were used to haul the wagons at first, but mules were soon found to be more desirable. They were hardier and they subsisted more easily. Oxen were also in general use, having first been employed by Major Riley to haul the baggage wagons of the escort he furnished in 1829. Oxen would pull heavier loads than the same number of mules, especially through sand or mud, yet they lacked the endurance and were more tender-footed than mules. Oxen were usually in wretched condition when they reached Santa Fe where they were sometimes sold for ten dollars a pair. Yet because they were cheaper to buy and fairly reliable, about half of the Santa Fe trade in the early Forties was hauled by oxen. Except in the beginning, horses were little used save as riding mounts for reconnoitering and hunting game.

The caravans generally left Independence in May. The goods were skillfully loaded and covered with so much care that they arrived at their destination after 850 miles of travel in excellent condition. While on the trip, each man's supplies comprised about fifty pounds of flour, the same quantity of bacon, ten pounds of coffee, twenty of sugar, and a little salt. Beans and crackers, though desirable were regarded as dispensable luxuries. When well beyond the frontier, numerous herds of buffalo provided a fairly certain supply of fresh meat.

The traders often journeyed in scattered parties to Council Grove, a beautiful little tract of hardwood timber well-watered on a branch of the Neosho River, about 150 miles out. This portion of the trip lying close to the American settlements was comparatively free from Indian incursions, hence military precautions were quite unnecessary here. While assembling at Council Grove a supply of timber for wagon repairs was secured. As soon as all the wagons had reached the Grove, the caravan organized for the serious journey through the Indian country. A meeting was called in which a "Captain of the Caravan" was chosen and various regulations for the trip agreed upon. The "Captain," though a nominal leader, had no real authority. His orders were regarded only as requests which might or might not be obeyed. He was always expected at least to designate a camping place for the night. Otherwise, the organization was fairly effective. The "proprietors" were notified to furnish a list of their men and wagons, which were divided, if the train was large, into four divisions. Over each of these divisions was a "lieutenant," whose duty it was to inspect every ravine and creek along the route, select the best crossings and superintend the "forming" of each encampment.

When about to start, a roll was called and a list made of

those eligible for guard duty. Everybody, teamsters, traders, wagon-bosses, tourists and hangers-on, all except invalids or persons otherwise incapacitated, had to take turns at guarding the train at night. This was not always pleasant as the prairie sentinel must stay at his post and watch for lurking Indians regardless of the weather. Usually there were eight watches, each standing one fourth of every alternate night. If the party were exceptionally large the "Captain" would appoint eight "sergeants of the guard," each of whom took an equal number of men under his command. In case the band was small, each watchman might be compelled to stay on duty half the night.

The personnel of the average wagon train was diverse. People of numerous classes, the well-dressed city merchant, the backwoodsman with his leather hunting clothes, the farmer in blue jeans, the teamster in his flannel shirt—all these and other types were to be seen. Firearms of every description were carried.

It was customary to break camp and begin each day's journey after an early breakfast. As the time for starting drew near, the captain shouted, "Catch up! catch up!" and this was repeated throughout the camp.

On such occasions a scene of confusion ensues which must be seen to be appreciated. The woods and dales resound with the gleeful yells of the light-hearted wagoners, who, weary of inaction, and filled with joy at the prospect of getting under way, become clamorous in the extreme. Scarcely does the jockey on the race course ply his whip more promptly at that magic word "Go!" than do these emulous wagoners fly to harnessing their mules at the spirit-stirring sound of "Catch Up!" Each teamster vies with his fellows who shall be soonest ready, and it is a matter of boastful pride to be the first to cry out, "All's set!"

The uproarious bustle which follows—the hallooing of those in pursuit of animals—the exclamations which the unruly brutes

call forth from their wrathful drivers; together with the clatter of bells—the rattle of yokes and harness—the jingle of chains—all conspire to produce a clamorous confusion, which would be altogether incomprehensible without the assistance of the eyes; while these alone would hardly suffice to unravel the labyrinthian maneuvers and hurly-burly of this precipitate breaking up. It is sometimes amusing to observe the athletic wagoner hurrying an animal to its post—to see him “heave upon” the halter of a stubborn mule, while the brute as obstinately “sets back,” determined not to move a peg till his own good pleasure thinks it proper to do so—his whole manner seeming to say, “Wait till your Hurry’s over!” I have more than once seen a driver hitch a harnessed animal to the halter, and by that process haul “his mulishness” forward, while each of his four projected feet would leave a furrow behind; until at last the perplexed master would wrathfully exclaim, “A mule will be a mule anyway you can fix it!”

“All’s set!” is finally heard from some teamsters—“All’s set” is directly responded from every quarter. “Stretch out,” immediately commands the captain. Then, the “heps!” of the drivers, the cracking of whips, the trampling of feet—the occasional creak of wheels, the rumbling of wagons—form a new scene of exquisite confusion, which I shall not attempt further to describe. “Fall in!” is heard from head-quarters, and the wagons are forthwith strung out upon the long inclined plain, which stretches to the height beyond Council Grove.⁷

After this fashion the caravan proceeded day after day and week after week across the “Prairie Ocean,” until distant Santa Fe was reached. At night it was customary to camp whenever possible by a stream and near timber. The stream if found was always forded before going into camp, and for two reasons. A sudden rain in the night might raise the water and make the crossing difficult and dangerous.⁸ Again,

⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, I, 50-52.

⁸ Prairie streams are flighty, especially in spring and mid-summer because of the frequent heavy thunder storms with a deluge of rain. These streams often overflow their banks without warning.

the teams always "pulled better" when "warmed up" at the close of a day's journey than in the morning when in "cold collars."

Much sport was had killing buffaloes; and as the hungry wayfarers had lived perhaps for weeks on coffee, salt meat and flap-jacks, juicy buffalo roasts were keenly relished. Since the roving herds were not always found when desired, much of the fresh meat was cut into thin slices and dried in the sun for future use. If buffaloes were plentiful and the weather damp and cloudy, the meat was "jerked," or slightly barbecued, by placing upon a scaffold over a fire.

Each caravan had its series of adventures, of scares and near-scares, pathetic and ludicrous. Frequently at night an amateur guardsman would set the camp in an uproar by a false alarm of "Indians!" Cases have been known where a poor browsing mule was shot for a prowling Indian by an over-excitabile sentry. A howling wolf might stampede the oxen. An Indian raid might drive off the draft animals, leaving the party stranded and well-nigh helpless. And again, murderous attacks by Indian warriors might and did occur, especially upon the smaller trains. Many were the tragedies that took place along the old Santa Fe trail.

While traveling without military protection through Indian country, and especially when the presence of savages was suspected, the caravans usually moved in compact formation, three or four wagons abreast. This was of course to facilitate a consolidation of forces for defense in case of attack. Sometimes the larger caravans would be met at the border by a company of Mexican soldiers sent out to escort the traders to the capital. If thus accompanied by soldiers,⁹ whether in American or Mexican territory, the

⁹Indians rarely attacked a formidable body of soldiers. Their aversion to taking chances in warfare was of course proverbial.

wagoners were likely to abandon much of their organization and proceed in a carefree manner.

When about one hundred miles from Santa Fe, a small party, usually the merchant proprietors, would ride ahead to arrange with the customs house officials and local merchants for the disposal of the goods. This done, the arrival of the wagons, usually a few days later, was eagerly awaited. When at last the long caravan appeared and rolled into the little old capital the scene was dramatic.

The arrival produced a great deal of bustle and excitement among the natives. "Los Americanos!" "Los carros!" "La entrada de la Carvana!"—the Americans, the wagons, the arrival of the caravan—were to be heard in every direction; and crowds of women and boys flocked around to see the newcomers; while crowds of *leperos* hung about as usual to see what they could pilfer. The wagoners were by no means free from excitement on this occasion. Informed of the "ordeal" they had to pass, they had spent the previous morning in "rubbing up"; and now they were prepared with clean faces, sleek combed hair, and their choicest Sunday suit, to meet the "fair eyes" of glistening black that were sure to stare at them as they passed. There was yet another preparation to be made in order to "show off" to advantage. Each wagoner must tie a bran new "cracker" to the lash of his whip; for on driving through the streets and *plaza publica*,¹⁰ every one strives to outvie his comrades in the dexterity with which he flourishes this favorite badge of his authority.¹¹

The goods were soon unloaded into the custom house ware rooms and for some time the merchants were busy selling their respective shipments. Their customers included many Mexican dealers from outlying towns who came regularly to the capital to buy their wholesale stocks. Mean-

¹⁰ Public square.

¹¹ Gregg I, 110-11.

while the wagoners, tourists, or other attachés of the caravan loitered about resting from their twelve weeks' journey.

And there were amusements a-plenty, chief among which were the *fandangos* or dance halls. Though commonly a dull place the town now was enlivened by the trading and the influx of visitors. There was considerable demand for interpreters, who for a nominal fee made the necessary arrangements of sale, translated the *manifestos*, or bills of merchandise to be manifested at the custom house and acted as general go-between in the buying and selling.

The Mexican tariff imposts were excessive, averaging from sixty to one hundred per cent upon the cost in the United States of an ordinary "Santa Fe Assortment." Duties on cotton goods were particularly high in the Thirties. For example, in 1837, all plain woven cottons paid 12½ cents duty per *vara* (33 inches) plus a *derecho de consuma* or consumption duty of 2½ cents. For some years during this decade Governor Armijo levied an arbitrary flat rate of \$500.00 per wagon-load whether large or small and regardless of the value of the goods. Since gold and silver—especially the latter—were paid for the articles brought in by the Americans, Armijo levied a high export duty on these metals. To get around such restrictions, the shrewd American traders before approaching Santa Fe would sometimes load the contents of three wagons onto one and then burn the vehicles thus emptied. To avoid the export duty on precious metals they attached large false axle-trees to some of the wagons where money was concealed safe from custom-house inspection. At last the Governor, probably suspicious that fraud was being enacted, returned to the *ad valorem* scale of duties.

A traveler writing to a New York newspaper about 1831 has left this picture of Santa Fe as he saw it then.

To dignify such a collection of mud hovels with the name of "City" would be a keen irony; not greater, however, than is the name with which its Padres have baptized it. To call a place with its moral character, a very Sodom in iniquity, "HolyFaith," is scarcely a venial sin; it deserves Purgatory at least. Its health is the best in the country, which is the first, second and third recommendation of New Mexico by its greatest admirers. It is a small town of about two thousand inhabitants crowded up against the mountains, at the end of a little valley through which runs a mountain stream of the same name tributary to the Rio Grande. It has a public square in the center, a Palace and an Alameda, as all Spanish Roman Catholic towns have. It is true its Plaza, or Public Square, is unfenced and uncared for, without trees or grass. The Palace is nothing more than the biggest mud-house in the town, and the churches, too, are unsightly piles of the same material, and the Alameda (promenade) is on top of a sand hill. Yet they have in Santa Fe all the parts and parcels of a regal city and Bishopric. The Bishop has a palace also, the only two storied shingle-roofed house in the place. There is one public house set apart for eating, drinking, gambling; for be it known that gambling is here authorized by law. Hence it is as respectable to keep a gambling house as it is to sell rum in New Jersey; it is a lawful business, and being lawful, and consequently respectable and a man's right, why should not men gamble? And gamble they do. The Generals and the Colonels and the Majors and the Captains gamble. The judges and the lawyers and the doctors and the priests gamble, and there are gentlemen gamblers by profession! You will see squads of poor peons daily, men, women, and boys, sitting on the ground around a deck of cards in the Public Square gambling for the smallest stakes.

The stores of the town generally front on the Public Square. Of these there are a dozen, more or less, of respectable size, and most of them are kept by others than Mexicans. The business of the place is considerable, many of the merchants being wholesale dealers for the vast territory tributary. It is supposed that about \$750,000 worth of goods will be brought to this place this year, and there may be \$250,000 worth imported directly from the United States.

In the money market there is nothing less than a five cent piece. You cannot purchase anything for less than five cents. In trade they reckon ten cents the eighth of a dollar. If you purchase nominally a dollar's worth of an article you can pay for it in eight ten cent pieces, and if you give a dollar you receive no change. In changing a dollar you would get but eight ten-cent pieces for it.

Yet, although dirty and unkempt, and swarming with hungry dogs, it has the charm of foreign flavor and, like San Antonio, retains some portion of the grace which long lingered about it, if indeed it ever forsakes the spot where Spain held rule for centuries, and the soft syllables of the Spanish language are yet heard.

At about the same period or a little later Josiah Gregg wrote as follows:

Santa Fe, the Capital of New Mexico, is the only town of any importance in the province. We sometimes find it written Santa Fe de San Francisco (Holy Faith of St. Francis), the latter being the patron or saint. Like most of the towns in this section of the country, it occupies the site of an ancient Pueblo or Indian village, whose race has been extinct for a great many years. Its situation is twelve or fifteen miles east of the Rio del Norte, at the western base of a snow-clad mountain, upon a beautiful stream of small mill-power size which ripples down in icy cascades, and joins the river some twenty miles to the southwestward. The population of the city itself but little exceeds 3,000; yet, including several surrounding villages which are embraced in its corporate jurisdiction, it amounts to nearly 6,000 souls.

The town is very irregularly laid out, and most of the streets are little better than common highways traversing scattered settlements which are interspersed with corn fields nearly sufficient to supply the inhabitants with grain. The only attempt at anything like architectural compactness and precision consists in four tiers of buildings whose fronts are shaded with a fringe of *portales* or *corredores* of the rudest possible description. They stand around the public square, and comprise the Palacio, or Governor's house, the Custom-house, the Barracks

with which is connected the fearful Calaboza, the Casa Consistorial of the Alcaldes, the *Capilla de los soldados*, or military chapel, besides several private residences, as well as most of the shops of the American traders.

Such, as pictured by contemporaries, was old Santa Fe, the goal of the overland trade, and later the temporary goal of a transcontinental railroad. Here the traders and their men remained perhaps four weeks disposing of all saleable property and arranging for the return trip which began late in the summer. Going back, the train was reduced to about one-fourth its original size and traveled lightly with a cargo of silver bullion, blankets, buffalo rugs, gold dust and wool.

While fluctuating in volume the Santa Fe trade continued on a fairly large scale as the years went by. So early as 1824, American goods had been introduced into the more southern markets, particularly in Chihuahua. While at first it was not uncommon for importers to convey small assortments of goods to the interior regions south and west of Santa Fe, this policy was not continued, the Mexican dealers evidently preferring to buy such American goods as they did get directly from wholesalers in Santa Fe. In 1839 an effort was made to start a trade route from Chihuahua through El Paso directly across Texas to frontier towns lying eastward. To encourage the project the government of Chihuahua agreed to reduce import duties to a very low rate and to furnish protection to the traders. Accordingly, in April of that year a caravan financed by several prosperous Mexicans and an American, a Dr. Connelley, set out with \$250,000 in coin or bullion and 700 mules in charge of one hundred men. A company of fifty dragoons went as a military escort. Traveling northward they mistook the Red River for the Brazos and were three months reaching

Fort Towson, their destination. As winter was setting in they had to remain here ten or twelve weeks. Returning with a big shipment of merchandise they again lost their way and did not arrive in Chihuahua until the midsummer of 1840. During their absence Governor Ingoyen, who had made the tariff concessions, died, and his successor now repudiated the agreement. After six weeks of haggling, a compromise was effected and the goods were finally taken into the city, on August 27th. Because of so many delays the promoters of the expedition lost heavily and this route was not attempted again.

During the early Forties probably not more than one tenth of the goods used in lower Mexico came in via the Santa Fe route, whose great importance was practically confined to the northern country. Matamoras, Vera Cruz, Tampico and Mazatlan continued to be the chief ports of entry for the provinces lying southward.

In 1831 the market was overstocked and prices fell off somewhat, which doubtless accounts for the reduced volume of trade immediately after that year. By 1843 many New Mexicans had entered the overland trade, and Gregg thought some of them stood a fair chance to monopolize the business. However, the Mexican war which soon followed, together with the consequent annexation of the territory to the United States, effectually prevented the control of the trade from passing to New Mexico.

Instead of purchasing a wagon outfit some merchants—as was intimated—preferred to hire their commodities transported. As was also mentioned, the freight rate from Independence to Santa Fe was from ten to twelve dollars per hundred; from Santa Fe to Chihuahua it was from six to eight dollars. Gregg declared in 1843 that the average gross returns of the business rarely exceeded fifty per cent,

leaving a net profit of between twenty and forty per cent. Profits occasionally went as low as ten per cent; and in case of disaster serious loss of course might result. It was the earlier traders who made the greatest percentage of gain.

Trouble between Texas and Mexico began in 1841, leading to a desultory warfare in which the Texans struck directly at the New Mexicans engaged in the Santa Fe trade. In 1842-1843 some reprisals were committed by both sides, the Mexicans generally being worsted. The result was to hamper the trade, as some innocent Americans were detained in Santa Fe charged with having acted as spies in collusion with the Texans. Finally in August, 1843, General Santa Anna, President and Dictator of Mexico, decreed that the northern custom houses should close to all commerce, the decree to take effect forty-five days after its publication in Mexico City. This edict stopped the trade until it was again opened by the decree of March 31, 1844. Before the autumn of that year had ended about 90 wagons with perhaps \$200,000 in goods had crossed the plains over the trail to New Mexico.

The big annual caravan for 1846 comprised 414 wagons with merchandise valued at \$1,752,250. In August of the same year, New Mexico was occupied by the Americans under General Kearny. After the conclusion of the Mexican war, as is well known, the entire region roughly comprising New Mexico, Arizona north of the Gila River, California, Nevada, Utah and a large portion of Colorado, was ceded to the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2nd, 1848.

With New Mexico, and the territory extending to the Pacific coast in possession of the United States, a new era of the Santa Fe trade coupled with an advancing population movement began. Henceforth it remained only for the

United States Government to protect—sometimes badly enough—the long caravans, with their traders and emigrants while the Americanizing of the Southwest went on.

Thus the third and final period in the history of the Santa Fe trail may be said to have begun in 1848 and lasted until the coming of the railroad thirty years later. By the commencement of this era Westport and Kansas City had begun to rival Independence as eastern terminals of the trade. The real origin of Kansas City dates from 1848, and this metropolis owes its beginnings and much of its early growth to the old Santa Fe trail.

Likewise, by 1848, the commerce and emigration across the plains had become of great colonizing significance, although precise figures as to the extent of this movement are not obtainable. For twenty years after the war with Mexico, until Sheridan's Winter Campaign in 1868-69, the movement was more or less hampered by Indians, since Congress seldom if ever gave adequate protection either to Government supply trains or to private outfits. Writing from Fort Mann, August 1st, 1848, Colonel W. Gilpin of the Missouri Volunteers estimated that Americans had sustained losses over the Santa Fe route that season as follows: Men killed, 47; wagons destroyed, 330; stock plundered, 6,500 head. The greater part of these losses he says were sustained by Government supply trains. The losses were inflicted in the Arkansas and Cimarron Valley by the Pawnees together with the allied Comanches and Kiowas; and by the Apaches farther west. The Indians, inflamed by their success, had been preparing for new raids, but they were awed by the three companies of infantry and two of cavalry under Gilpin who was thus holding them in check. He declared that the permanent security of the road could not be obtained by a moving column of troops. Only the estab-

lishment of outlying military posts and a permanent understanding of peace and war with the Indians would be effectual. To that end, Gilpin recommended four stations with strong adobe buildings and stock corrals at strategic points. He also advised the purchase of Fort Bent, and thought treaties should be made with the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Kiowas. A war of aggression he thought should be waged against the Comanches and Apaches in their little known country far to the westward. These tribes, he said, held in captivity between 600 and 800 Mexicans whom they had captured in raids.

As a further reason for renewed activity on the part of the Federal Government to protect the Santa Fe trail, Colonel Gilpin declared that already that season more than 3,000 wagons with 12,000 people and 50,000 head of live stock had passed his headquarters. Continuing with indignation, he added: "It is a great stigma upon the home department of our Government that a few piratical savages are allowed to menace with destruction all passengers for the space of 600 miles. Such, however, always has been the case and is now the case." And this condition of affairs would remain until fortified posts of refuge and garrisons with swift cavalry were stationed along the route. Yet these border troubles were but incidents in the American settlement of the Southwest. To enumerate them in detail is to write a history of the frontier.

This final period of the trail's existence (1848-1878) was likewise marked by the development of the overland stage and mail. In May, 1849, the first stage line, a monthly service, was established between Independence and Santa Fe. This was an innovation and the forerunner of transcontinental stage service that followed a few years later. A writer in the *Missouri Commonwealth*—published at Inde-

pendence—in July, 1850, has left this interesting description of the first Santa Fe stage coaches:

The stages are gotten up in elegant style and are each arranged to convey eight passengers. The bodies are beautifully painted, and made water tight with a view of using them as boats in ferrying streams. The team consists of six mules to each coach. The mail is guarded by eight men, armed as follows: Each man has at his side, fastened in the stage, one of Colt's revolving rifles, in a holster below one of Colt's long revolvers, and in his belt a small Colt's revolver, besides a hunting knife, so that these eight men are ready, in case of attack, to discharge 136 shots without having to reload. This is equal to a small army armed as in ancient times, and from the looks of the escort ready as they are either for offensive or defensive warfare with the savages, we have no fears for the safety of the mails.

The accommodating contractors have established a sort of base of refitting at Council Grove, a distance of 150 miles from this city, and have sent out a blacksmith and a number of men to cut and cure hay, with a quantity of animals, grain, and provisions; and we understand they intend to make a sort of traveling station there and commence to farm. They also, we believe, intend to make a similar settlement at Walnut Creek next season. Two of their stages will start from here the first of every month.

The mail route to Santa Fe, now an American frontier town, at once became important. About one month was required for the stage to make the 850-mile trip. In 1854 the Government was paying the contractors \$10,990 annually for the monthly service. But since the route, as has been shown, lay through the Indian country and was as yet feebly guarded—if guarded at all—the cost of conducting the service was greatly in excess of the compensation received. Finally, after repeated complaints to the Postmaster-General, a new contract was made which granted \$25,000 an-

nually for carrying this mail; yet the cost of the service even then was shown to be \$30,000 a year.

At the same time, the industrial invasion and settlement of the Southwest went on. By the Federal Census of 1850 New Mexico had a population of 61,547, exclusive of Indians, with property valued at over \$5,000,000. Ten years later the figures had risen to 80,567 people, with property worth nearly \$21,000,000.

During that same year, 1860, the export trade from the Missouri River border to New Mexico and contiguous territory amounted to over 18,000 tons, transported in 6,992 wagons. This enterprise required the services of 11,601 men, 841 horses, 7,574 mules and 67,950 wagons. The cost of hauling this freight was over \$5,400,000, while the imports returned were worth nearly \$500,000.

In 1870 the white or Mexican population was 82,193, with property assessed at \$18,000,000. In the year 1869 the gold output of the territory was \$500,000. The small increase in population and the falling off in wealth during the latter decade was occasioned, first, by the territory having been made smaller. In 1861, Colorado, until then partly comprised in New Mexico, was organized into a separate territory. Likewise, Arizona was split off and separately organized two years later. Furthermore, the Civil War with its devastating border conflicts was carried into New Mexico by the Confederates in 1862. All of which causes naturally retarded for a time the development of New Mexico.

With the construction of the Kansas Pacific Railroad in the late Sixties and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe in the Seventies, the romance of the Santa Fe trail fast disappeared. As the Kansas Pacific, the first line across Kansas, moved westward, the eastern terminus of the trail be-

came for a while the "end" of the railroad line. First, Hays City, Kansas, and then Kit Carson, Colorado, were the respective terminals. Then as the Santa Fe railroad gathered strength and pushed through Colorado southward the towns of Granada, La Junta, El Moro, and Las Vegas, in turn held the transient honors of being at the "east end" of the trail. With the development of the Santa Fe railroad the Santa Fe trail passed into history. While it had ceased to be a commercial and colonizing factor its work was to be taken up and carried to a splendid completion by the railway. And with the history of this railway, which has linked not only Santa Fe, but the entire Southwest and the Pacific Coast to the Mississippi Valley, the succeeding chapters of this book will deal.

CHAPTER II

CYRUS K. HOLLIDAY: THE MAN WITH A BIG IDEA

CYRUS K. HOLLIDAY was the father of the Santa Fe railroad. It was Mr. Holliday who projected this great undertaking; it was his imagination and daring self-confidence that made possible the realization of the project. From the outset he believed that a railroad built along the Santa Fe trail would be a sound business enterprise; it would haul the large traffic overland, encourage emigration and develop the country. Holliday foresaw the present greatness of the Santa Fe System almost from the driving of the first spike. Of course, he had a hard time convincing some people that his tiny railroad—even when it had crossed a couple of counties—really would become a great system that would transform the entire Southwest. People laughed at him, called him an old fool, and otherwise misused him. Men with big ideas are generally abused, at first, by their cautious and worldly-wise fellows.

Living to a good old age it was Mr. Holliday's rare privilege to see his little "Atchison and Topeka Railroad" spread across Kansas to Santa Fe, to the Pacific Ocean, to the Gulf of Mexico and to Lake Michigan just as he had predicted to his jeering neighbors way back in the Sixties. A railroad, which grew from nothing to a transcontinental system over 11,000 miles in extent, sprung from the brain of Cyrus K. Holliday, the man with a big idea.

But Mr. Holliday's activities were not confined to the

railroad which he conceived, promoted and helped develop. He was a Kansas pioneer and one of the principal founders of Topeka, the capital of the state. With this city he cast his fortunes, and he contributed much to its substantial growth. Not content therefore with having brought into existence a railway system destined to build an industrial empire, Mr. Holliday founded a city which was to be the headquarters of his railroad, a city which was to be not only the capital of a great state but the seat of this railroad empire as well.

Holliday was born near Carlisle, Pennsylvania, April 3rd, 1826. Except for a short residence in the State of Ohio, the early years of his life were all spent near the place of his birth. He was educated in the common schools of his home town and at Meadville College, Alleghany, Pennsylvania. Fitting himself for the legal profession, he practiced law for a time. But he always had a craving for big business; he loved to exploit his own ideas. Having, it is said, cleared \$20,000 in a railroad venture which he successfully put through in Pennsylvania, Mr. Holliday at once went to Kansas with the capital he thus had made. That was in the autumn of 1854. It required nerve to take \$20,000 into Kansas in those days when the slave controversy and border ruffianism were rampant. But Holliday was never lacking in courage. He stopped first at Lawrence, then headquarters for the free-state men. Here he made the friendly acquaintance of Governor Charles Robinson, the chief leader of the free-state faction.

Allying himself with Robinson and the free-state men, Holliday remained for some time in Lawrence, where he helped build a fort to defend the town against the pro-slavery forces. While the latter were for a time successful and in August, 1855, established a territorial capital at

Lecompton, many people in Lawrence believed that Kansas Territory would eventually become a free state. Cyrus Holliday was among this number, and therefore he induced a few of his friends to accompany him farther west, where a good site for a permanent state capital might perchance be found. At first the business adventurers stopped at Tecumseh, but there they were unable to come to terms with the landowners. Had they reached an agreement, Tecumseh would now be the capital of Kansas. So they journeyed a few miles further west and made a bargain with a man named Enoch Chase whereby sufficient land for a good town-site was purchased. This tract was secured by means of a so-called "Wyandotte float," which was a government warrant authorizing a Wyandotte Indian or his assigns to locate on a piece of unoccupied land wherever he might select it. This became the townsite of Topeka, and the Topeka Town Company, with Cyrus Holliday as its first president, was at once formed.

The site had belonged to an Indian named Isaiah Walker, who deeded the land to the Company. The original patent for the property was dated February 14, 1859, and signed by President James Buchanan. Another patent, covering sixty-two acres on the bank of the Kaw River,¹ bore the signature of Abraham Lincoln. The latter was issued by the Lecompton Land Office to the Mayor and Council of Topeka. Respecting these operations, Mr. Holliday's own story follows:

I arrived at Lawrence in October, 1854, and came into possession of a few shares in the Lawrence Town Company, but, preferring to be interested in a town of my own, started west on November 21 with a party to look up a desirable town-site. In that party were Governor Robinson, Rev. S. Y. Lum, Rev. Mr. Clough, a Mr. Davis, Frank Billings, Captain Bolles, John Armstrong and myself.

¹ Also called the Kansas River.

On november 22 we arrived on the ground upon which the City of Topeka now stands, which at once impressed me as a favorable location for a great city. The selection of this town-site was not an accident; it offered every advantage as a town-site. Here was a great river, plenty of water, and, above all, the two great trails of the continent, Fort Leavenworth and St. Joe to Santa Fe, and Independence to California, crossed at this point.

The townsite is said to have been staked out the next day after the party took possession. They had no surveying instruments, but by using a compass which one of the number carried as a watch charm and by improvising a surveyor's "chain" with ropes taken from provision sacks, they managed to lay out the town. A large tree was used as a starting point. After some days the site was sufficiently "squared up," and certain rules were adopted. By these rules it was provided that one-sixth of the site be set aside for the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts, which it was thought might be interested in the new town. Another sixth was set apart for whomsoever might come and improve it, while the Company members divided the remainder. It was not long before the Emigrant Aid Society established a saw mill that supplied plenty of lumber and made rapid improvement possible; thus the town grew fast.

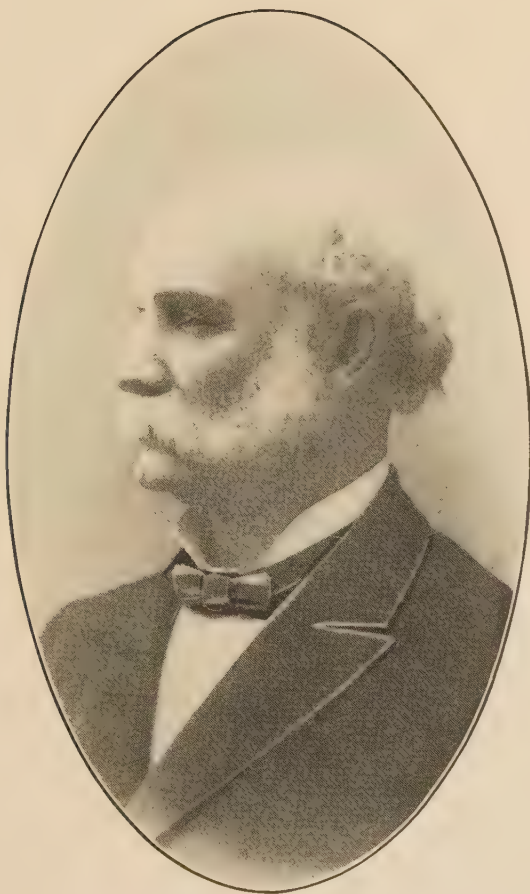
Holliday wanted to call the place Webster in honor of the great statesman; but, at the suggestion of another member of the Town Company, the Indian name *Topeka*² was chosen. This was some weeks after the townsite had been laid out. As the place began to grow, the site was enlarged by the addition of some of the adjacent homesteads

²Translated, *Topeka* means a good place to dig potatoes. The founders of the town evidently adopted the name because it "sounded well" for a town.

which certain members of the Company, Holliday included, had wisely secured.

Having thus been a leader in founding the town, Mr. Holliday soon had Topeka made the capital. This he did by appearing before the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention in 1859 and getting passed a measure which with the consent of Congress would and did make the town the territorial capital. He also chose the site where the present state-house stands. Having helped found Topeka and having personally succeeded in making his town the capital, one of Mr. Holliday's ambitions had thus been realized. But now he became possessed with one big idea—to build a railroad. Scarcely had he entered Kansas when he began to dream of building a line over the Santa Fe trail, from the Missouri River to Old Santa Fe. To narrate the fulfillment of Holliday's dream, the origin and development of the Santa Fe railroad, is the main purpose of this work.

Railroad booms were so numerous in those days that to the average Kansan, Holliday's ambition must at first have appeared quite ordinary. Both the Territorial, and after 1861, the State Legislature of Kansas authorized the construction of many lines. But nearly all these schemes were projected in the interest of some particular town or locality without reference to public welfare. In fact throughout the country this spirit of local selfishness has often actuated the public clamor for new railroads. During the Fifties and Sixties in Kansas, as in other sections, lines were organized with millions of capital stock, but with no cash, no assets, and no offices. Numerous towns and villages and scores of paper towns had projected railways to run, with themselves as starting points, to some imagined terminus on the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific. And many of these upstart communities likewise fondly imagined that the great lines then



CYRUS K. HOLLIDAY
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE A. T. & S. F. R. R.

in operation east of the Mississippi were already headed westward in their direction. When after nearly ten years of effort Cyrus Holliday had financed his railroad and secured the construction of some twenty miles of track, we can scarcely blame those who laughed because he boldly declared his road would some day reach New Mexico and beyond. It was an age of over-confidence and wild enterprises.

While in 1855 there were but a handful of settlers in Kansas, the Territorial Assembly that year chartered five railroads. One of these projects, the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western, after some years did materialize and become the first important railroad in the state. The other schemes were soon dropped.

The Legislature of 1857 granted sixteen railroad charters, none of which was of much importance; in fact all but two seem to have been visionary. One, the Maysville, or Palmetto and Roseport Company organized that year to build a railroad from Maysville or Palmetto City to Roseport "so as to connect with the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad." In June, 1857, the Roseport Town Company was reorganized and the town renamed Elwood. Likewise the railroad, having been reorganized, changed its name to the Elwood and Marysville. This project lay dormant nearly three years when a few miles of track, "the first railroad iron laid on Kansas soil," were put down and a small locomotive, the "Albany," the "first iron horse to touch Kansas soil," ran back and forth amid great acclaim. But with the approach of war, enthusiasm waned; ere long the cross ties of this diminutive railroad rotted and cottonwood trees sprouted between the rails.

The St. Joseph & Topeka Railroad, likewise chartered in the prolific session of 1857, has been called the forerunner of the Atchison & Topeka road which Cyrus Holliday

definitely conceived and put through, in that it was projected from the Missouri River opposite St. Joseph to Topeka. The charter lapsed without anything having been done. But inasmuch as the enterprise doubtless stimulated the interest of Atchison citizens who greatly desired a railroad connection with Topeka, the St. Joseph and Topeka scheme was doubtless of some importance.

The charter of the "Atchison and Topeka Railroad Co." was written by Mr. Holliday while at Lawrence near the close of the legislative session, in January, 1859. That the charter was exclusively the design and work of Holliday is shown by the fact he "had the whole thing complete except filling in the names of the incorporators, in the first section, before any person was aware that such a charter was being prefaced."⁸ Since Atchison men were anxious to have a railroad outlet southwest to Topeka, Mr. Holliday then conferred with L. C. Challiss of Atchison as to the names of Atchison citizens who might be desirable as incorporators from that end of the line. Holliday and Challiss were both members of the territorial legislature and had long been good friends. Holliday at once suggested General W. C. Pomeroy and Challiss as two incorporators from Atchison; while Challiss proposed Holliday as a representative of Topeka interests. Holliday then introduced the charter into the territorial council—on Tuesday, February 1st. The next day all rules were suspended and the bill passed the council and was at once sent to the House of Representatives where it was likewise quickly passed. And on the last day of the session, February 11, 1859, Governor Medary returned the bill with his approval.

⁸ From the private papers of Cyrus Holliday which were kindly loaned to the writer by his son, Mr. Chas. Holliday of Topeka.

The capital stock of the corporation was to be one million five hundred thousand dollars, which could be increased "from time to time, to any sum not exceeding the amount expended on account of said road, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each." . . . It was further provided that when fifty thousand dollars shall have been duly subscribed to the capital stock and ten per centum actually paid to the grantees herein named, and a certificate from a majority of them, duly authenticated, filed in the office of the Secretary of this Territory, they are authorized to organize the Company and open books for further subscriptions, requiring payments on instalments from time to time.

Such is the story of the original incorporation of the Santa Fe Railroad. The next step was to organize a company, but little or nothing was done for over a year and a half.

Finally—as a story runs—one morning in September, 1860, Mr. Holliday, accompanied by E. G. Ross, Joel Huntoon and Milton C. Dickey, started from Topeka to Atchison, fifty miles away, to effect the long delayed organization. Some obliging liverymen in Topeka had donated the use of a carriage and team for the trip. Hopes ran high but money was scarce. The members of the party carried cold lunches. On reaching the ferry that led across the Kaw at the outskirts of Topeka, they were debating whether to ask credit of the toll-keeper when the horses took the initiative, plunged in and forded the stream safely. Atchison was reached in due time and on September 15-17, Sunday intervening, the Company was organized in Mr. Challiss's office by subscriptions of stock and the election of officers and directors. C. K. Holliday was chosen president—"the first president of the Santa Fe"; Peter J. Abell was made secretary, and Milton C. Dickey, treasurer. The first Board of Directors also chosen on September 17th were L. C.

Challiss, G. H. Fairchild, P. T. Abell, S. C. Pomeroy, L. D. Bird, C. K. Holliday, F. L. Crane, E. G. Ross, Joel Huntoon, M. C. Dickey, Jacob Safford, R. H. Weightman and J. H. Stringfellow. The capital stock of the Company as subscribed on September 15th, 1860, was \$52,000, each of the thirteen directors subscribing \$4,000.

Holliday was making progress. He had written the charter, secured the speedy incorporation, and finally after some delay had effected the organization of his railroad company. The next step was to enlist public opinion in behalf of the enterprise. Kansas had plenty of enthusiasm. She needed railways to develop her resources but she was land poor. Millions of acres of public domain lay untouched. Could some of this land be set apart and sold for the purpose of aiding the railroad construction, something definite might be accomplished. Statehood was likely to be granted soon and this would probably stimulate immigration and intensify the desire for transportation facilities. Since everybody was talking railroads and the air was full of railroad projects some of the more thoughtful citizens of Kansas began to think that if any of these countless schemes were ever realized a concentrated effort would be necessary. And so to organize public sentiment on behalf of railroad building, Mr. E. G. Ross, editor of the *Topeka Record*, suggested that a convention be called to devise some scheme for securing a practical railroad system for the Territory of Kansas which it was expected would soon become a state. This suggestion was made late in the summer of 1860 just before the Atchison and Topeka Company had been organized. The proposition was greeted with popular approval. Cyrus Holliday now saw his opportunity and immediately prepared and circulated for signers the following call:

A convention will be held at Topeka, Kansas, on Wednesday, the 17th day of October, 1860, for the purpose of devising a system of railroad land grants for the territory to be petitioned for at the next session of Congress. A full representation from all parts of the territory is earnestly solicited.

This call with three hundred and fifteen signatures that were promptly secured was then published in the *Atchison Freedom's Champion* which called attention to it in "an able and patriotic article."

The convention assembled in the Old Museum Hall, at Topeka, at 10 a. m. October 17th. Delegates were present from nineteen counties, representing virtually all the settled portions of the territory at that time. They came, some of them, from a long distance, in private conveyances at their own expense. The meeting was called to order by Samuel C. Pomeroy, of Atchison. E. G. Ross, of Topeka, was chosen temporary president. Then there followed the usual procedure of appointing a committee on credentials and permanent organization.

A squabble ensued as to the basis of representation. Some wanted each county to have one vote on all questions before the convention. A faction from Leavenworth submitted a minority report which advocated giving one vote to each county, together with one additional vote for each one thousand of population and every fraction of five hundred and upwards. This report was presented by Thomas Means of Leavenworth who spoke for nearly an hour in its defense. He contended that the city of Leavenworth was the metropolis of Kansas and the great port of entry on the Missouri River. Since all roads led to Leavenworth and the outlying counties had to go there for supplies "they should consult her interests and aid her in her demands." It was utterly wrong for counties having scarcely any popu-

lation whose delegates "represent nothing but prairie sod" to have equal voting power with Leavenworth and other populous counties.

In a frontier convention, whose members came largely from rural districts or from fiercely ambitious, booming villages, the effect of such a speech can easily be imagined. It started a lively row.

Means was answered by B. F. Stringfellow, a former Attorney General of the State of Missouri but now a resident of Atchison, which county he represented in the convention. In a vigorous speech Stringfellow declared that the sparsely settled counties were under no obligations to Leavenworth. In fact the day was not far ahead when Leavenworth would be under obligations to them for business and support. Those thinly populated counties were being settled fast. While to-day perhaps their delegates represented only "prairie sod" the time was near when those same counties would have large populations with improved farms, "furnishing trainloads of produce for the markets of the world." Hence it was the business of Leavenworth to aid in getting railroads constructed through all these counties so they might be able thereby to transport their products to the city. This would enable Leavenworth in fact to become the metropolis of the territory. A metropolis was made by business; it could never be created through efforts to destroy the country that furnished that business.

Stringfellow's speech carried the day and the majority report was adopted. This action led to the withdrawal of the Leavenworth and Wyandotte faction, whereupon the remaining delegates went ahead without further delay. A committee of one was appointed from each of the county delegations that remained, and the joint committee thus

formed went into session and drew up this resolution which the convention unanimously adopted:

Resolved that a memorial be presented to Congress asking an appropriation of public lands to aid in the construction of the following railroads in Kansas: First, a railroad from the western boundary of the state of Missouri where the Osage Valley and Southern Kansas railroad terminates, westwardly, by the way of Emporia, Fremont, and Council Grove, to the Fort Riley military reservation; second, a railroad from the city of Wyandotte⁴ (connecting with the P. G. R. railroad and the Pacific railroad), up the Kansas Valley, by way of Lawrence, Lecompton, Tecumseh, Manhattan, and the Fort Riley military reservation, to the western boundary of the territory; third, a railroad running from Lawrence to the southern boundary of Kansas, in the direction of Fort Gibson and Galveston Bay; fourth, a railroad running from Atchison to the western boundary of Kansas.

Cyrus Holliday then offered the following resolutions:

That there be a committee of five appointed to memorialize Congress in behalf of the railroad schedule recommended by this convention, and that the delegates representing each of the respective routes contemplated in the schedule nominate a member of said committee. Said committee shall also issue an address to the people of Kansas upon the subject of railroad grants.

Resolved that a standing committee of five be appointed by the chair, whose duty it shall be to adopt such measures as they may deem best, by the appointment of sub-committees or otherwise, to obtain signatures of the people of Kansas, to be presented to Congress in favor of the schedule of roads adopted by this convention and adopt such other measures as they may deem best calculated to carry out the objects of this convention.

The Holliday resolutions were carried without dissent. John A. Martin of Atchison County then moved that the

⁴Now Kansas City, Kans.

proceedings of the convention be entrusted to Hon. M. J. Parrott, the Kansas delegate in Congress, who should be requested to present to Congress for its favorable consideration the railroad plans and memorial adopted by the convention. This resolution likewise was adopted.

The delegates present, at the proposal of the chairman, then nominated members of the committees contemplated by Mr. Holliday's resolutions.

A further motion by A. C. Davis, that the newspapers of the territory be requested to publish a record of the proceedings of the convention, was carried—after which the body adjourned *sine die*.

While of great significance in the history of the Santa Fe railroad, this was in many respects a remarkable convention. It was non-partisan, being composed of Democrats, Republicans, pro-slavery, and free state men. Except for the temporary trouble caused by the Leavenworth faction, these men of diverse political creeds worked in harmony for a common purpose—the development of local interests. The Topeka railroad convention was of importance because it organized public sentiment; it crystallized the countless petty railroad schemes into a few well-defined plans. As directed by the convention, Mr. Stringfellow promptly addressed to Congress an able memorial on the subject, outlining the importance of the roads named in the convention's schedule, and setting forth arguments for their early construction.

Of course delays were to be encountered. First there was a severe drouth, which blighted Kansas, even while the convention was sitting. Since this calamity caused much local distress and business depression it naturally would have checked for a time any decisive action in railroad building. Then followed the greatest of our national calamities, the

terrible Civil War which was to blight the whole country for four long years. Yet in the midst of this gloom there came a ray of hope for western railway projects. For years an effort had been made in Congress to secure the passage of a law granting public lands and financial support in behalf of a railroad to the Pacific coast. While badly needed, this proposal had always failed to carry because of diverse sectional interests. Northern politicians in Congress wanted a line built by a northern or central route. Southern men fought for a southern route. Thus the matter stood, virtually deadlocked, when the withdrawal of southern senators and representatives gave the northern men a free hand with only their own petty differences to compose, before a Pacific railroad should be authorized and made possible by Federal support. Kansas became a state in 1861 and her first senators, James H. Lane and Samuel C. Pomeroy, began to work vigorously, first for the all-important Pacific railroad bill which had so long interested Congress. In the enactment of the bill, which became a law July 1, 1862, Lane and Pomeroy played a prominent part. With this important and long-standing measure no longer pressing, it became relatively easy to secure appropriations of public land to aid in the construction of other prospective railroads in the West.

The bill which was to make possible the construction of the Santa Fe railroad across Kansas was written by Cyrus Holliday and sent in Holliday's handwriting to the United States Senate, where it was introduced by Senator Pomeroy. It passed both Houses quietly and received President Lincoln's signature on March 3rd, 1863. While destined to be of momentous importance, this bill bore the innocent name of "An Act for a grant of lands to the State of Kansas, in alternate sections to aid in the construction of certain railroads and telegraphs in said state." The act was general in

character and made provision among other things for two railroads. It provided, "That there be and is hereby, granted to the state of Kansas, for the purpose of aiding in the construction: First of a railroad and telegraph from the city of Leavenworth by the way of the town of Lawrence, and via the Ohio City, crossing of the Osage river to the southern line of the state in the direction of Galveston Bay, in Texas, with a branch from Lawrence, by the Valley of the Wakarusa river, to the point on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad where said road intersects the Neosho river. Second, of a railroad from the City of Atchison, via Topeka, the capital of said state, to the western line of the state, in the direction of Fort Union and Santa Fe, New Mexico, with a branch from where this last named road crosses the Neosho, down said Neosho Valley—every alternate section of land, designated by odd numbers, for ten sections in width on each side of said roads and each of its branches." The lands granted for the construction of these railroads and branches were to be devoted exclusively to their construction and were to be disposed of only as the work progressed. The said lands were granted to the State of Kansas to be disposed of by its legislature only for the purpose aforesaid. And in effecting their disposal, the Governor was to certify to the Secretary of the Interior whenever "twenty consecutive miles of either of said roads or branches is completed in a good, substantial and workmanlike manner, as a first-class railroad, and the said Secretary shall be satisfied that said State has complied in good faith with this requirement, the said State may cause to be sold all lands granted as aforesaid situated opposite to and within a limit of ten miles of the line of said section of road thus completed, extending along the whole length of said completed section of twenty

miles of road, and no further." After this manner the lands were to be granted "until said roads and branches are completed." A significant clause stated: "That if any of said roads and branches is not completed within ten years from the passage of this act, no further sale shall be made, and the lands unsold shall revert to the United States." The act contained the usual provisions making the railroads and branches public highways over which the United States mail and troops were to be transported.

It then only remained for the Kansas Legislature to pass "An Act to accept a grant of lands made to the State of Kansas, by the Congress of the United States, to aid in the construction of certain railroads in said state and to apply the same to construction of such roads and telegraphs." This measure was duly enacted and became a law February 8th, 1864. But the Kansas Legislature went farther than merely to accept in a perfunctory manner the enabling Act of Congress. It supplemented its act of acceptance with an Act authorizing certain counties to "subscribe to and take stock in certain railroad companies and issue bonds therefor." This law which received the Governor's approval March 1st, 1864, provided, among other things, that the counties of Atchison, Jefferson, and Shawnee, and all other counties through or near which the proposed line or lines of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and its branches shall pass "are each hereby empowered and authorized to subscribe and take stock in the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company and to issue bonds for the same, not to exceed the amount of \$200,000." Such stock of course could not be subscribed except by the consent of a majority vote of the citizens of said counties.

This friendly legislation was not the only effort which the Kansas Legislature put forth. At about the same time

the County bonding bill was enacted, both Houses memorialized Congress in a concurrent resolution. The Secretary of State was then directed to forward to the Kansas delegation in Congress, to the President of the United States and the Speaker of the House, copies of the preamble and resolutions, urging that they be submitted to Congress for consideration.

But the Federal Government gave no heed to this request and the Santa Fe railroad had to be content with the lands appropriated in the Act of March 3rd, 1863. Compared with the help which other early transcontinental roads received from Congress the Santa Fe got but small support. For building from Omaha to Ogden the Union Pacific received nearly 12,000,000 acres and a loan of \$27,236,512 in government bonds. The Central and Western Pacific between Sacramento and Ogden got 8,000,000 acres and a similar loan of \$27,855,680. The Kansas Pacific, afterwards a division of the Union Pacific running from Kansas City to Denver, received 6,000,000 acres and a loan of \$6,000,000. The Union Pacific combination, in other words, received 26,000,000 acres of land and immediate financial aid to the extent of \$61,392,192. While it was the first line to be built across the continent, its construction involved a nation-wide scandal.

The Northern Pacific was given a public land grant aggregating about 43,000,000 acres, much of which land was valuable. The Atlantic and Pacific was granted 42,000,000 acres, a large part of it desert and practically useless. The Texas and Pacific got 23,000,000 acres; the Southern Pacific about 14,000,000. While the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, eventually to become one of the greatest and in some respects the most remarkable system of them all, received from Congress less than 3,000,000 acres of public land and no

government bonds. The history of the Santa Fe is remarkable in that it is the story of a few great personalities with imagination and far-seeing vision achieving what appeared to be the impossible. It is a story of definite ambitions, of indomitable purpose, of able financing, efficient organization, and relentless energy. Cyrus Holliday, the father of the Santa Fe, personified these qualities, and the Santa Fe railroad developed leaders who embodied them to the highest degree.

By the spring of 1864, Mr. Holliday had accomplished much. He had effected the incorporation and organization of his company. His masterly initiative had brought together the Topeka railroad convention of 1860, which organized public sentiment, decided upon a definite line of action, and made the granting of aid to Kansas railroads an issue in Congress. This convention had projected five definite lines, Holliday's among them, and of this number, all but the first—"a railroad from the western boundary of the State of Missouri . . . westwardly by the way of Emporia, Fremont and Council Grove . . ." were to materialize into important railroads. Of these four, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe promoted by Holliday, was to become one of the great railway systems of the world. Another, the Southern Kansas, was to be a part of the Santa Fe, while the two remaining lines were later to form important divisions of the Union Pacific.

Undaunted by demoralized conditions due to the Civil War, Mr. Holliday had stuck to his purpose. He finally had secured, in the passage of a bill framed by himself, the enabling act of Congress authorizing the Kansas Legislature to appropriate the long-desired grant of public lands in aid of his prospective railroad. The supplementary legislation, together with an act authorizing local assistance and

a memorial to Congress asking for financial help which was not given had been speedily rendered by the Legislature. Still there remained a long period of waiting and much to be done. The Civil conflict dragged on a year longer. Because of the war and the disarranged business conditions of the country, times were not at all propitious in the Sixties for financing railroads, especially in Kansas whose record for drouths, border wars and cyclones was unenviable. Attention was of course drawn largely to the Union-Central Pacific enterprise which with the powerful support of the Federal Government was building in a spectacular fashion. The Pacific Railroad was desired by the whole country, though but few people thought it would develop the region through which it passed. It was looked upon more as a strategic means of binding the Pacific Coast more effectually to the Union both commercially and in a military sense. In spite of the large volume of business and the numerous traders and emigrants who had for years been going out over the Santa Fe trail and settling, many of them, in the distant Southwest, it was hard to convince capitalists in those days that the Santa Fe land grant and that the Kansas prairies in general, amounted to much. So late as 1849, Josiah Gregg, the well-known Santa Fe trader and famous historian of the southwest trade routes, had written of the plains country:

It will now readily be inferred that the Great Prairies from Red River to the Western sources of the Missouri are, as has before been intimated, chiefly uninhabitable—not so much for want of wood (though the plains are altogether naked) as of soil and of water, for though some of the plains appear of sufficiently fertile soil, they are mostly of a sterile character, and all too dry to be cultivated. These great steppes seem only fitted for the haunts of the mustang, the buffalo, the antelope, and their migratory lord, the prairie Indian. Unless,

with the progressive influence of time, some favorable mutation should be wrought in nature's operations, to revive the plains and upland prairies, the occasional fertile valleys are too isolated and remote to become the abodes of civilized men.

While twenty years later thousands of people had learned that the prairies held great agricultural possibilities, yet popular prejudice still lingered east of the Mississippi where most of the capital was to be found. The idea of building a railroad across Kansas for the purpose of colonizing the plains seemed ridiculous to many. Some thought it barely possible to build more than a few hundred miles west of the Missouri. Others thought the Government might some day build a road for military purposes over the 35th parallel route through New Mexico and Arizona, hence, obviously, why finance a private enterprise? The war was over and the land grant secured, but it was still necessary to convince skeptical investors that the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad project was not a piece of folly, the plan of a mere visionary. It was a long and heartless task, a struggle that lasted ten years, but the personality and iron will of Cyrus Holliday, backed by his Topeka friends, triumphed in the end. The chief trouble lay in getting funds to commence the enterprise. Extending across Kansas was the splendid land grant in which people had dubious faith. But this land grant, for better or for worse, could not be liquidated into cash unless the railroad was built to and through it. Here was a case of finding the solution of a problem by solving it. And the long-sought means now seemed near at hand.

In 1867 a petition was presented to the Board of County Commissioners of Shawnee County, of which Topeka is the county seat, requesting that a bond election be held to vote on a proposal to issue \$250,000 in county bonds to aid in constructing the railroad through Shawnee County. This

proposition was voted down. Determined to win at all events, Holliday, assisted by Judge Safford, Judge Martin and P. I. Bonebrake, organized a house-to-house campaign. Enthusiastic meetings, addressed by friends of the undertaking, were held in schoolhouses and churches. A new election was then called and the bonds carried. The next task was to offer the bonds in the financial centers of the country, where they failed to attract much notice. A contract was finally let in 1867 to a George W. Beach, of New York, who agreed to build the road, but he did not keep his agreement. It appears that he soon became convinced that the venture was too uncertain to warrant any outlay of money and effort, even with the bonded promise of local support. The county bonds had failed to arouse interest in the road. When the task had actually seemed possible of fulfillment the contractor had broken faith. Success was always slipping away, yet Mr. Holliday would not fail. Warmly supported by his friend, Jacob Safford, he renewed his efforts to get direct financial assistance outside of Kansas. Nobody knows the number of trips he made to the money centers of the East, but they were many. So the fight went on.

April 9th, 1868, the *Topeka Weekly Leader* contained this bit of news:

"Judge Safford and Col. Holliday left Topeka about the first of March last for New York to look after the interests of this railroad. The Judge returned home on Friday last, bringing encouraging news in regard to the early construction of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe R. R.

Col. Holliday tarried at New York to arrange the preliminaries. There seems to be no doubt—if we believe what these gentlemen write and tell us—but that the road will be put under contract and work actually commenced previous to the first day of June, next.

We are importuned daily as to what are the chances of this

road being built and we have invariably answered that we did not know. However the horizon, heretofore dark and bright by turns, is clearing and we fully believe in the early construction of the A. T. & S. F. Railroad.

Three weeks later the same paper announced:

Daily we are asked the question, "Do you think the work will soon commence on the Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad?" Now, that Col. Holliday has returned, and having heard his statements, we say to the public that the early construction of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad is certainly flattering. That the grading will be started within the next sixty days we verily believe.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS OF A GREAT RAILROAD

ON the 7th of October, 1868, the *Topeka State Record* proudly announced:

The child is born and his name is "Success," let the capital city rejoice.

The A. T. & S. F. Railroad will be built beyond peradventure. Work will commence immediately. Please inform the good people of Topeka and Shawnee County of the brilliant future awaiting them.

It was a letter just received from Mr. Holliday in New York, dated September 26th.

To this glad news the *Record* added:

It is fitting that Col. Holliday should be the final successful negotiator in this enterprise. To no one man in Kansas can the praise be awarded more surely for fostering and encouraging the various railroad schemes now making every farmer in the state richer than he was than to Col. Holiday.

While others have abandoned the project as chimerical, the Colonel has never faltered, but has steadfastly kept on winning his way until his enterprising schemes became the people's, and success came of it. The Colonel is soon to return and will merit the approbation of every property holder in the city.

What had appeared impossible was at last to be surmounted; for arrangements had been made with a strong middle-western firm, Dodge, Lord and Company of Cincinnati, who were now to start building operations in earnest.

It is doubtful if the Shawnee County bonds and the uncertain prospects of the country through which the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad was to pass could have induced even this firm to take up the proposition. But the resourceful Mr. Holliday, wisely anticipating the final difficulties that would be met in financing his road, had prepared for this emergency by acquiring another grant of valuable land. Just west of Topeka was the Pottawatomie Indian reservation, a splendid tract which lay wholly within the settled area of Kansas. It was land that people knew to be "habitable" and which would sell quickly at a fair rate if once put upon the market. By a treaty made with the tribe on November 15th, 1861, it had been provided that the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad company might buy the unallotted surplus lands of this reservation at the rate of one dollar and a quarter per acre. But to secure a patent to all the lands in question at this rate, the company, or its assigns, must within six years "construct and fully equip a good and efficient railroad from Leavenworth City" through the reservation and to its western boundary. When this period drew to a close the railroad company had not purchased the Pottawatomie lands. A new treaty concluded between the Government and representatives of this tribe on February 27, 1867, was amended by the Senate in Executive session July 25, 1868, in several particulars. Among these amendments it was provided that since the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad company, their successors and assigns, had failed to purchase said lands, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad company might within thirty days after the promulgation of the treaty, purchase of the said Pottawatomies, their remaining unallotted lands, "except as hereinafter provided, at the price of one dollar per acre lawful money of the United States. . . ."

There was to be no delay. The Secretary of the Interior was to grant certificates of purchase as soon as the Company had filed a bond for the purchase and payment of the lands. Furthermore, the Company was given five years in which to pay for the tract, with interest at the rate of six per cent. on all deferred payments until the whole purchase price was paid. By this deal, which was effected through the Kansas delegation in the United States Senate, Mr. Holliday secured a tract of nearly 400,000 acres, which was liquidated steadily into cash, and from which the Company soon realized several hundred thousand dollars, funds that aided enormously in the early construction of the road. Mr. D. L. Lakin, who had been prominent in assisting Col. Holliday, was appointed Land Commissioner and he at once began the appraisal of the Pottawatomie lands with a view to their early disposal. Within a very few months these arrangements were completed and the rapid sale of the property wholly justified expectations.

With adequate financial measures having thus been provided, the actual construction of the Santa Fe railroad was now to begin. On getting the defaulted Beach contract in 1868, Dodge, Lord & Co. arranged with Thomas J. Peter of Cincinnati, one of the firm, whereby Peter became the assignee of Beach. Peter then contracted with the members of his own firm to build the first twenty-five miles, from Topeka to Burlingame. The arrangement proved satisfactory, and T. J. Peter became the first builder of the Santa Fe. He was the first engineer and contractor who would risk attempting what many thought was a futile project. It is said that when Peter first went out to Kansas to look the ground over he did so with misgivings, with no idea that a road built across the prairies would ever be a success. But as he traveled out over the plains and saw the herds of countless



WHAT THE EARLY BUILDERS MET WITH
THUNDER MOUNTAIN IN THE BACKGROUND

buffaloes, he concluded that a soil which supported infinite numbers of these animals could likewise support mankind. Peter also consulted Senator Preston B. Plumb of Kansas as to the likelihood of the railroad being a success. Plumb strongly endorsed the proposition. Having once decided to start operations, Peter was not a man who turned back.

Ground was broken for the first construction of the Santa Fe early in November, 1868. There was a little opening ceremony. A party of some twenty citizens assembled in Topeka at a spot where the company's shops now stand and threw up a pile of dirt. There was some speech-making with Senator E. G. Ross as the chief orator. After relating some of the trials that had been undergone in the organization of the railroad company the Senator was glad "after an absence of four years in the army and three years in the United States Senate" to return to Topeka and throw the first shovel of earth upon the grading of the railroad which ten years ago he had helped to organize. He was happy that he had been instrumental in helping to promote a company that "in a few years at most would be of so much consequence to the state." Col. Holliday is also said to have mounted the pile and to have made a speech in which he predicted that those present would live to see the road completed to Santa Fe. Laughter greeted the remark and it was not the last time that Holliday's ambitions were to be ridiculed. It was planned to spend the winter building a bridge across the Kaw at Topeka and in making preparations to lay track early the following spring. The Kansas Pacific, which had built to Topeka in 1866, was of much assistance in bringing up materials from the east via Kansas City.

Thomas J. Peter who thus conducted the early building operations of the Santa Fe was an able engineer with an

interesting personality. That he made a strong impression upon the Kansas citizens is shown by these cheerful comments taken from a Topeka paper at that time. "The construction of the road is under the personal supervision of T. J. Peter, one of the heaviest stockholders, than whom it has not been our good fortune to meet a more perfect gentleman, and withal, a more thorough business man. Having devoted a life time to the work of constructing railways, he is so familiar with the duties imposed by that kind of enterprise that his business ways are almost electric; his habits of discharging business are such as to inspire the assurance that the work will be prosecuted with the utmost vigor. He comes among us with his capital, and a character for integrity without a blemish. It is such men that make a nation strong: it is such men that our people rejoice to welcome in our midst. It is such enterprises as that in which he is now so zealously engaged that our people delight to foster."

Interesting stories have been told about Peter. It seems that he was strictly temperate in his habits, and would neither smoke, chew nor drink; but his profanity when once aroused was fearfully sublime. He had an extraordinary memory and contrary to the usual methods of civil engineers he made but little use of office records. It was his policy not to issue written orders, and the subordinate who failed to remember his instructions three months after they were verbally given was likely to arouse Peter's profane wrath. All in all Peter had a vigorous personality, was an able engineer and an aggressive leader. To say that his habits of discharging business were such as to inspire confidence was no idle talk, for he produced big results. He proved a worthy instrument for Cyrus Holliday's ambitions, and within five years he made the Santa Fe an import-

ant railroad in which there was a suggestion of future greatness.

While the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad was projected southwest from Atchison through Topeka, Emporia, and out over the Santa Fe trail to New Mexico, construction, as we have seen, started at Topeka, and moved south and west. It was two years before Atchison and Topeka were connected. The first plan, as already shown, was to build twenty-five miles from Topeka nearly due south to Burlingame. This route led through some fairly good coal deposits, the exploitation of which could and did furnish the company with a dependable fuel supply. As the line advanced, it opened up excellent territory which was tributary to Topeka, since the entire southern half of Kansas—south of the Kansas Pacific—was without railroads and awaiting development. Almost from the outset, the construction of the Santa Fe into this region attracted capital and immigrants from the East beyond all expectation. The effect was to advance the price of real estate and quicken business in general. It is not surprising that the press and people of Topeka rejoiced as the road was built; nor that towns which sprang up all along the line boasted with pride of their present and future “prospects.”

By the latter part of March it was reported that ten miles of roadbed was ready for ties and rails, while rails and fastenings for another ten miles were in transit from St. Louis. The “fine” bridge over the Kaw was nearly complete, which allowed a direct connection with the Kansas Pacific tracks across the river. The work now progressed steadily, and late in April an excursion was made by a party of distinguished citizens including officials of the company, to Wakarusa, a village twelve miles out and toward which the road was building. The track had been constructed only

seven miles, but the excursionists who filled two passenger coaches rode proudly over this stretch, covering the distance in thirty minutes. A reporter who accompanied the party has left an enthusiastic account of his experience. "We left the city," he says, "at three o'clock and soon were steaming over the prairies at the rate of fifteen miles an hour." The substantial character of the road as built—bridges and masonry—"elicited the most approved commendations from the party." The ties were of oak and walnut and the rails iron, 56 pounds to the yard. "It was apparent to all that the roadbed had not been built merely for the purposes of securing franchises, but that its proprietors designed it for service. Superintendent Noble (of the Kansas Pacific, a guest), pronounced the work the best he ever saw in a prairie country." The end of the track was reached in a half hour and the remaining distance of five miles was made in carriages. Already the grade was completed to Wakarusa and workmen were fastening rails to the ties at the rate of over a half a mile each day.

At Wakarusa an old-fashioned picnic celebration with eating, drinking and oratory was held. While much eloquence was displayed by various speakers who came fully primed for the occasion, it was here that Col. Holliday is said to have delivered his famous "Wakarusa speech," the climax of the day. Never averse to making speeches, especially on behalf of his railroad project, Mr. Holliday now had reasons to be hopeful. After years of struggle he had gotten his railroad, at least a small one, financed and its construction begun. He had just ridden over seven miles of its track, five miles more would soon be ready. Great things now were sure to come. The longer he talked, the more fervid his inspiration became. So he boldly announced to his audience that some day the road would cross

the Rockies and reach old Santa Fe. This nearly took his listeners' breath, but the Colonel's ambitions were now beyond control. The railroad thus commenced would, he said, grow larger and larger. Erelong the Gulf of Mexico, Old Mexico and finally distant California, would all be joined with the Mississippi Valley and even the Great Lakes. Holliday then assumed that famous pose with which it is said he often addressed railroad meetings in those days. Facing the southwest he crossed his arms in the form of a horizontal X on a level with his shoulders and with a voice tremulous with emotion, declared: "Fellow citizens, imagine, if you please, my right hand as Chicago, my left as St. Louis. Eventually the railroad we contemplate will reach these two cities and, crossing at Topeka the intersection of my arms, will extend to Galveston, the city of Mexico, and San Francisco. The coming tides of immigration will flow along these lines of railway, and like an ocean wave will advance up the sides of the Rockies and dash their foaming crests down upon the Pacific slope."

Many stories have been told of Holliday's speeches and all are united as to the wild optimism which he expressed. At Wakarusa, his flight of oratory and unbelievable prophecies were too much, even for hopeful spirits of a frontier celebration. Many laughed scornfully, others stared in open-mouthed amazement; and one young man, a local wit named Tom Anderson, is said to have flung himself down and kicked up his heels in an agony of unrestrained mirth, at the same time exclaiming, "Oh, the damned old fool!" But it was to be the pleasant irony of fate that the "old fool" should live to see his prophecies fulfilled. While few if any persons could have shared Mr. Holliday's extreme hopes, public confidence had been aroused. The average sentiment was doubtless fairly and moderately expressed in this extract from a news-

paper account of this excursion: "From the expeditious and satisfactory manner in which this company have conducted their work the friends of the enterprise can rest easy as to its prospects. There is no mistake about it, we are soon to have a road from Atchison to Emporia, and a good one too."

Before the end of May the railroad had crossed the line from Shawnee into Osage County. On the 17th of June, when the track had nearly reached Carbondale, another big excursion, comprising about two hundred Topeka citizens, with invited guests, went out once more to the end of the line, which had now been extended into Osage County, fifteen miles from Topeka. The road had more than doubled in length since the first trip and so the party proceeded to celebrate in much the same manner as at Wakarusa.

After the road had crossed the county line the Shawnee County Commissioners promptly issued the bonds as voted in the election of 1867, receiving in exchange stock in the company. A train schedule was next arranged and announced in the Topeka papers late in June. This is the notice, the first Santa Fe time card, as it originally appeared:

A. T. & S. F. R. R. Time Table

Superintendent's Office A. T. & S. F. R. R.

Topeka, June 23, 1869.

The above railroad will be opened for business on Monday, June 28th, 1869, between Topeka and Carbondale (17 miles), at which point trains connect with stages for Burlingame and Emporia. Trains will run daily except Sundays as follows: Mixed train leaves Topeka at 6:15 A. M., arriving at Carbondale 7:45 A. M. Passenger leaves Carbondale 10:10 A. M., arrives at Topeka 11:30 A. M., connects with east and west trains on the Kansas Pacific. Returning leaves Topeka at 1:00 P. M., arriving at Carbondale 2:00 P. M. Mixed train leaves Carbondale 4:00 P. M., arriving at Topeka 5:45 P. M.

T. J. Peter, Supt.

Having thus projected the railroad, organized it, and secured for it large assets in the form of land grants; and since he had financed the road, got its construction under way and in formal operation, Cyrus K. Holliday need no longer be a central figure in this narrative. The building of the Santa Fe was to go on, slowly at first with occasional delays, yet on the whole steadily until its present greatness had been attained. So far, the genius and persistence of the promoter have stood out in bold relief. Now the force of Mr. Holliday's great personality merges into that of the corporation which he had created, and he ceases to be so prominent a character in the story. Yet be it remembered that for more than thirty years, until his death on March 29th, 1900, Mr. Holliday remained an active and efficient member of the Santa Fe directorate.

As the line continued to progress toward Emporia, sixty-two miles south, a boom struck that village. An election to vote bonds in aid of the approaching railroad was held on June 15th amid much excitement. As to the outcome of this election, an Emporia correspondent wrote to a Topeka paper: "The vote on bonds to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. to-day resulted gloriously. Lyons County sustains her record in favor of railroads." The bonds carried by about 350 majority, which, as the writer claimed, was "150 better than the most sanguine supporters of the bonds looked for." A thorough and effective canvass was made and the proposition gained rapidly among the people from the first.

Say to your numerous readers that there will be two railroads to Emporia in a year from now and tell Holliday, Lakin and the eastern men to hurry up their cakes.

Things are lively here. Lots that went begging at \$500.00 three months ago are readily gobbled at \$1,000.00 now. About

one hundred men are in town awaiting the result of the railroad vote. Had it been adverse they would have skedaddled to-morrow. As it is, they remain and go to work to-morrow.

Harry Norton to-day sold \$10,000 worth of property to Dr. Griswold of Ohio. Bancroft's agency is overrun.

Gen. Schofield arrived to-day and is at the National. The quiet way in which he came and in which he acts excites the admiration of our people. No one knows his mission. He is dressed as a citizen and don't sport any fancy dogs or willow jugs.

Another Emporia citizen who signs himself, "Cœur de Lion," wrote at the same time to the same paper:

The town is crowded with strangers and speculators; real estate steadily stiffens in price; the good time so long coming is evidently at hand. The crop prospect was never better; the fortunate holders of lots hold up their heads with new dignity; everything is lovely, and the goose was never more loftily suspended.

By the close of 1869, the road had been constructed 28 miles. By August, 1870, it had been extended to Emporia, thirty-four miles farther. On the eighth of that same month the citizens of Marion County, just west of Lyons, held a big mass meeting at Marion Center, their county seat, where it was resolved that a railroad from the Missouri River to Wichita was "one of the most feasible and important of modern enterprises"; and that the immense cattle trade waiting now to pass over such a road would certainly make it a paying line. The number of cattle now in this vicinity¹ was double that of any previous years and the superior

¹It has long been the practice to bring the rough ranch cattle from the southwest plains, notably from Texas into East Central Kansas and there fatten them on the rich pastures that abound in the Cottonwood and Neosho Valleys. Many farmers in the Mississippi Valley are now buying this class of livestock and "fitting" it for market.

grazing of Marion County was bound to increase the herds each year. It was further resolved that since they were on the direct line of the new route, the people of Marion County stood ready to do all reasonably within their power to aid in the speedy completion of the road, and to that end they offered \$150,000 in county bonds to the first railroad to build through their county seat.²

During 1871 the road was built from Emporia to Newton, a distance of about 75 miles. Newton, which now is a well-known division point, was reached in July. Traffic on the line developed with surprising rapidity. The cash receipts at the Emporia station for December, 1870, were about \$36,000. The gross earnings for the company for the first five months after the road was built to Emporia totaled \$168,721, with running expenses less than 50 per cent. So lively did business become that it was necessary to purchase one hundred new stock cars to take care of the traffic.

Construction was halted at Newton for several months, where considerable traffic was developed, since numerous herds of cattle were steadily arriving from northern Texas to be shipped east over the new road. But while business was good, there was cause for anxiety. It will be remembered that the Congressional land grant of March 3, 1863, had stipulated that the line must be built across Kansas within ten years. Less than two years of this allotted time re-

²Topeka State Record Aug. 17, 1870. It was customary for Kansas counties to vote bonds to assist in the construction of this and other railroads. In the case of the Santa Fe the usual sum voted by a county was \$150,000. The Company in turn gave the county full paid stock for the bonds. Likewise many townships and municipalities voted similar aid. Definite figures as to the amount of help the Santa Fe received from these sources are not available, but it was considerable. The state of Kansas never became involved, as it is forbidden by its constitution to become a party to enterprises for internal improvement. A history of these local bond grants would make interesting reading.

mained and of the 469 miles to be built from Atchison to the Colorado boundary only 137 had as yet been completed. The government surveyors had not yet ascertained the precise location of the Kansas-Colorado boundary and it was not known just how far to build. But further, and of far more serious importance, times were not good, money rates were high and getting higher. The cost of materials was advancing. It would take \$5,000,000 to complete the three hundred and thirty odd miles of road that must be built in record time to save the all-important land grant. There was some talk of requesting Congress to extend the time limit two years until the company should be better able to meet these unprecedented problems. But an exciting presidential contest was on and since both business and political conditions were uncertain the directors decided it unwise to risk further delay, and voted to build the "whole line" at once. The necessary funds were raised, construction was begun and within a year the work was done.

The long delayed 50-mile line from Topeka to Atchison was built early in 1872, the first train passing over this division on May 16th. This outlet was valuable as it gave the road terminal connections with a number of important lines, such as the Hannibal & St. Joseph, Rock Island, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy and Missouri Pacific. A good eastern outlet was thus secured, the Santa Fe was no longer forced to depend solely upon the Kansas Pacific, and could now route its own shipments directly to the trans-Missouri River railroads.

In the early spring of the same year the Newton and Southwestern, the first Santa Fe branch, was built from Newton to Wichita, some 27 miles. This road, which was built nominally by private parties friendly to the Santa Fe, was speedily acquired by that company. A story goes that

General Manager T. J. Peter, realizing that Wichita, then a village, might some day become a city of importance and that this branch would soon open a good traffic, strongly urged the directors to take the initiative in building it. Chiefly because of unfavorable business conditions they declined. Whereupon Peter raised the money and built the road on his own responsibility. The directors, now convinced that the branch was valuable, proceeded to buy it from Mr. Peter, who charged a snug profit for his trouble.

There now remained about 285 miles to be constructed from Newton west to the State line. The route for much of the distance followed the Santa Fe trail along the Valley of the Arkansas; it led through wild, uninhabited prairies. There was some fear of Indians although the natives gave no serious trouble. And this enterprise, a great undertaking for a small and struggling company, had to be completed within a year or the larger portion of the land grant would be lost. Work started from Newton about May 1st, 1872. The line had been laid out by Engineer Albert A. Robinson, assisted by James D. Burr. Because of the level country, grading was comparatively easy. Materials and supplies of all kinds were brought over the line from the Missouri River and brought up as needed as fast as the line was extended. The track-laying and erection of bridges were under the direction of James Criley, a profane but exceedingly proficient Irishman, who drove construction hard and fast. The road was completed and opened for operation to Hutchinson, 33 miles west, on June 17; to Great Bend, 51 miles further, on August 5th; to Larned, 23 miles, on August 12th; to Dodge City, 60 miles beyond, Sept. 19th; and to the State line, which the government engineers were tardy in locating, on Dec. 28th, when cars were run over the entire route from the Missouri to Colorado. The land

grant was saved and with over two months to spare. About 360 miles had been built within nine months. Moreover, the road, it is claimed, was remarkably well built, much better than the majority of western roads, "and in general construction would bear comparison with the best roads either East or West."

By the close of 1872, then, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad had been built across Kansas. It consisted of a main line stem 469 miles in length from Atchison to Topeka, then south to Emporia and southwest through Florence, Newton, around the big bend of the Arkansas through Great Bend, Larned, Dodge City, and then due west along the valley of the Arkansas to Colorado. Also there was one branch nearly 28 miles in length from Newton to Wichita. Early in the new year, a slight advance had been made into Colorado under the charter of a company incorporated in that territory. Thus the first formal yearly report of the Santa Fe directors, issued on March 31st, 1873, could state proudly that they had 497 miles of railroad in full operation. This railroad had been started and developed within four years; while about 362 miles had been constructed within the last twelve months. Judged by the standards of that time the road was thoroughly built and well equipped. It was for the most part laid with iron rails of size 56 pounds to the yard. The ties were white oak, 2,600 to the mile. The embankments were wide; the culverts, bridges, abutments, waterways and cattle guards were nearly all built of stone.

"Neat and capacious depots of the most modern type were built at all important stations." Engine houses of stone and brick had been constructed at Atchison and Topeka. Similar structures of wood, and numerous water stations had been erected at various points along the line. There

were fourteen "commodious section houses" and fifteen enclosed yards for the shipping of live stock. The transportation business was carried on with 38 locomotives, 20 passenger, 2 sleeping, 755 freight and 255 miscellaneous cars. And the gross earnings of this small but ambitious railroad for the year ending March 31, 1873, totaled \$1,172,013, with expenses of \$748,210, leaving a net balance of \$423,803. This excellent showing had been made on an average of 282.97 operated miles.³ Perhaps Col. Holliday's notions as to the industrial possibilities of the Kansas prairies were not so foolish after all.

Such were the beginnings of the Santa Fe. It had crossed the state of Kansas and entered Colorado when further expansion was temporarily cut short by the financial panic of 1873. Henceforth, for a time, the company was to pursue a very conservative policy, developing its property, colonizing its lands and extending its lines slowly and with caution. With the coming of a great executive, four years later, the Santa Fe was quickly to emerge from these sound beginnings into a great railroad. But let us next glance at the frontier which this railroad created and then destroyed—building in its stead an industrial empire that has become a vital asset to this nation's greatness.

³ Keeping in mind of course that during most of this period the road was in process of construction.

CHAPTER IV

THE RAILROAD FRONTIER ¹

BUILDING the first railroads across Kansas made possible the rapid development of the Northern Texas cattle business; and it led to the equally rapid extinction of the buffaloes. While the rich pastures of the Texas Panhandle were capable of sustaining vast herds of cattle just as they had for centuries supported countless buffaloes, the raising of cattle in this region never could be attempted on a large scale so long as they had to be driven to Missouri River points several hundred miles overland for marketing. The cattlemen welcomed the Union Pacific, which first crossed the plains. At once the practice arose of driving the herds

¹This chapter is presented solely as a picture of conditions as they were. It aims to depict some of the scenes enacted in the most typical of the cattle towns that sprang up at the "end of the line" as the Santa Fe railroad moved westward across the prairies. The writer is familiar with these towns as they now are, having lived in one of them nearly two years. A few years ago he visited Dodge City, the most famous of them all, and carefully interviewed some of the most noteworthy of the survivors of the early days, the men who were founders of the town and who witnessed the incidents herewith reproduced. Among the men thus interviewed were Chalkley Beeson, Robert M. Wright, G. M. Hoover, and M. W. Sutton. These gentlemen, one a ranchman, one a business man, one a bank-president and another a lawyer, have long been among the most respected citizens of the town. Three of the number, Beeson, Wright, and Hoover, recently died. Mr. Wright has written some interesting historical accounts of his early experiences on the frontier. While many of the smaller details of the stories in this chapter cannot be literally confirmed they are given as the concurrent testimony of the four gentlemen mentioned above.

northward to the most accessible railroad point and then shipping them in trainloads eastward. So early as 1867, in spite of restrictive quarantine laws imposed by Kansas, 35,000 head were shipped from Abilene, in that state, over the Union Pacific. In 1871 about 600,000 head were received at this little town. In the summer of that year, it will be recalled, the Santa Fe reached Newton and within eighteen months had also crossed the state, running from eighty to one hundred miles south of the Kansas Pacific. Since the animals could now be shipped from points still nearer the big pastures, the cattle business at once passed to the more southern Santa Fe route, and, as this railroad moved westward, strange towns sprang up from the plains at the "end of the line." These were the so-called "cattle towns" of the early Seventies. Their origin as important centers was due almost wholly to the sudden influx of hundreds of cattlemen bringing tens of thousands of cattle, seeking a place of shipment.

So in the fall of 1871, the strange frontier conditions, the booming prosperity, unrestrained vice, lawlessness, crime, six-shooter justice and "boothill" grave-yards—where men were buried with their boots on—all these conditions which had characterized Abilene, passed with the cattle trade to Newton. A few months later as the railroad advanced, Newton was to divide this questionable distinction with Wichita, on the south, and with Raymond, Great Bend, Larned and Dodge City to the westward. Lying at the southernmost point of the Santa Fe main line in Kansas, and hence at that time the nearest railroad station to the Pan Handle country, it was Dodge City that became the most notorious of all the cattle towns, and because of her proximity to the cattle country this town held this notoriety the longest of any of the famous prairie towns on the old rail-

road frontier. While many interesting stories can be written of all these places, Dodge City as the most representative has been chosen for the main theme of this chapter.

A story goes that more than forty years ago on a warm summer day, a drunken man stumbled aboard a Santa Fe train in western Kansas without having troubled himself to purchase a ticket. Now the conductor of this particular train—we may call him Smith—was a little man who served his company well, but he stuttered. Finding the inebriated passenger snoring serenely in the smoker, Smith shook him gently.

“Whatcher want?” growled the irate citizen.

“T—ticket p-pl-please!”

“Ain’t got none!”

“W-well, wh-where you g-goin’?”

“Goin’ to hell!”

“Say, m-mister, g-give me a d-dollar and I-I’ll let y-y-you off at D-D-Dodge City!”

No western town has been more truly western, nor has any American town been more truly American than Dodge City. And so famous has this place become that it is now the usual practice of magazine writers to make Dodge City the setting for nearly all their “gun” stories. While most of these tales are highly colored, and while there has been a tendency to over-emphasize the bad and to overlook the good features of this community, it must be admitted that the town has had a remarkable past. It has typified all that the West has stood for—an utter disregard of things conventional, lawlessness, six-shooter justice and a sham social and political organization; yet these lax conditions were permeated by a desire for things better, which desire finally resulted in a triumph of law and order and in the creation of a sane community spirit.

In years back this little straggling town on the Arkansas was a sort of crucible in which all the diverse elements of the plains—soldiers, railroad men, merchants, cattlemen, gamblers, divekeepers, strumpets and roustabouts—were fused into a composite something, and that something was the Dodge City of popular fancy.

But times have changed. Busy switch engines snort back and forth where whooping cowboys once cavorted. Mild-eyed young men in white coats draw soda-water where fierce bartenders in buckskin shirts once appeased the thirst of bad men. A peaceful, law-abiding town of about four thousand souls is the Dodge City of to-day. Quiet reigns there, and vice is conspicuous by its absence. Old men sit in front of restaurants and pool halls and swap yarns. Milk wagons and delivery carts rattle harmlessly about, while automobiles glide in all directions. A Harvey House gong, thumped by a slant-eyed Japanese, announces the arrival of the trains. One sees along the streets the usual aggregations of banks, barber poles, bakeries, and bill boards. A large brick school house stands decorously on the summit of Boot Hill, once famed as a coffinless cemetery. A dozen or so well-attended churches attest to the piety of the place. A change has even come over local politics, for the Mayor is no longer the leading saloon-keeper. There are no saloons now and the mayor is usually a prominent business man. All this sounds commonplace enough, to be sure, but forty odd years ago things were different.

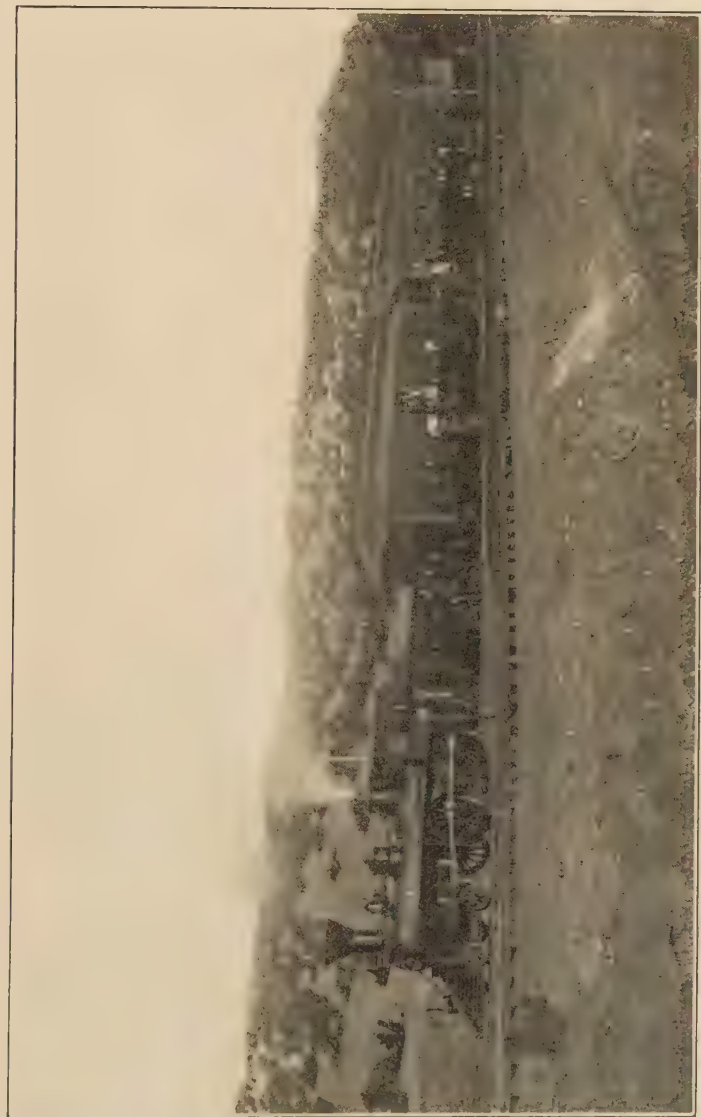
Dodge City originated in 1872, just a few weeks before the arrival of the Santa Fe railroad. The first white men to locate there were G. M. Hoover and J. G. McDonald, who on June 17th started a retail business in a tent. A little later that same day the firm of Cutter and Wiley established a supply store, which building still remains. These

two men were railroad contractors, and they were joined almost immediately by the Masterson brothers—of six-shooter fame—who had a sub-contract for building two miles of railroad grade directly through the town-site.

The town was laid out in August, at or very near the time the railroad arrived. Ford County, in which Dodge is situated, was not organized until the spring of 1873. This settlement was then in the heart of the buffalo country, and it is not surprising to learn that the town was first called Buffalo City. But in applying to the government for a postoffice it was found that there was already a Buffalo Station out on the Kansas Pacific, and another little town of Buffalo—which still survives—in Wilson County. Not caring to have any more “Buffaloes” in Kansas, the Postmaster General in granting a postoffice sent out the name of Dodge City, in honor of Fort Dodge, which was but five miles away.

Having thus secured a railroad and a postoffice the town began to grow; and it also commenced to assume some of the commercial importance which Hays City over north on the Union Pacific had been enjoying. In fact Dodge secured some of her most noted pioneer citizens from Hays, these gentlemen being keen enough to see good business openings in the new town. First there came Jim Kelly, who opened and ran the well-known Opera House saloon and who later became mayor and “all-round man” in the community. Then came A. B. Webster and R. W. Evans, both with stocks of merchandise. They were followed by Jim Hanahan who became the first state representative from Ford County, together with Moses Waters, a prosperous liquor dealer, and other enterprising characters.

Having thus gotten into the school geographies through the conventional means of a railroad and a postoffice, Dodge



THE FIRST TRAIN INTO SANTA FE, TAKEN AT LOWRY, NEW MEXICO

City then proceeded to put herself upon the map in more thorough-going style. First, business was needed, for there were several well-equipped stores and bar-rooms awaiting customers. Big business came. The railroads had brought many hunters onto the plains and the slaughter of the buffaloes was then at its height and freight traffic came with leaps and bounds. Almost from the outset hundreds of cars loaded with buffalo hides and meats were shipped eastward. And each day there were arriving from the east dozens of carloads of grain, flour, provisions, spirits, and other frontier supplies. Within a year the town had acquired a large floating population. Aside from being the shipping point for Fort Dodge, an important military post nearby, it was the headquarters for hundreds of trappers, traders, hunters, settlers, and hither came the cattlemen with dusty, panting herds of Texas long-horns. These men caroused frequently, to be sure, but they also bought supplies, and their patronage made for good business.

It is said that the local firm of Charles Rath and Company once wired Long Brothers of Kansas City for two hundred cases of baking powder, to be forwarded at once. Astounded at so large an order from a frontier town a member of the Kansas City concern went to Col. W. E. Askew, a prominent hide-buyer who was supposed to know all about Western Kansas, and inquired if the order could be bona fide. Askew thought it looked queer and telegraphed Rath & Co. to find if there had not been a mistake. Their reply was, "No mistake. Double the order." Arriving in Dodge City on a business trip a few days later, the Colonel saw seven or eight carloads of flour stacked up in a single warehouse, and he was then glad to admit that still more baking powder might be needed.

Few rich mining camps ever have equaled the boom days

at Dodge City. The plains swarmed with buffaloes and a good hunter could make one hundred dollars a day killing these beasts for their skins. Money was over-plentiful. A quarter was the smallest change, and no item sold for less than that amount. A drink of whisky, a shave, a box of matches, or a plug of tobacco, all sold for the same price, twenty-five cents.

Now, it is not surprising that a town of this kind would attract all kinds of persons, good, bad and indifferent; and that occasionally there arose feuds and personal differences which required immediate adjustment.

Gambling and painted women were the chief cause of most of Dodge City's violence; race prejudice was also a factor. The town started out peaceably enough and had it not been for the steady influx of these two lawless elements, its early history might read differently. But the women and the gamblers came, together with three-card monte, poker, faro, and roulette—and with this combination came trouble swift and certain.

The first man killed in Dodge was a negro called "Tex." He had had some trouble with a gambler known as "Denver," and it seems the two parted without effecting a settlement. Procuring a gun "Denver" stationed himself over Jim Kelly's saloon and lay in wait for his victim. "Tex," unconscious of danger, happened along soon afterward, and was shot through the top of the head. For this crime "Denver" was not seriously molested.

In the spring of 1873 another negro, who drove a hack to and from Fort Dodge, was killed. It appears that while he was temporarily absent from his rig, a gang of saloon loafers took possession of it and started out for a hilarious ride. The colored driver on reappearing, ran indiscreetly after the crowd, protesting against their conduct, and he was shot down in cold blood. This murder caused trouble,

for the dead man was or had been a private employee of Col. R. I. Dodge out at the fort. Col. Dodge at once started an investigation, which resulted in sending Hicks, one of the gang, to the penitentiary. "Scotty," an accomplice, hid in an ice box in Peacock's saloon, and although the town was surrounded by United States cavalry, he was spirited safely away that night. Hicks' confession of guilt was candid. After the murder, the corpse had been thrown upon the sidewalk and covered with a buffalo hide. Walking up to the body and coolly jerking aside its covering, Hicks pointed to a certain bullet hole, with the remark, "I shot him there!"

During the first year of Dodge City's existence about fourteen men were shot. This high rate of crime may have been due partly to the fact that the county was then, as already noted, unorganized. For judicial purposes it was attached to Ellis county on the north, which arrangement made the courts of justice cumbersome; in fact so slowly did criminal justice move that men usually preferred to redress their own grievances.

Even during the balmy days the spirit of law was never entirely lacking in Dodge. Besides the above-mentioned lack of a county organization which worked a severe judicial handicap, for over a year the town was rent into factions. At first there was a civil and a military division, many citizens hotly resenting the right of soldiers from the fort to make arrests in the town even when lawlessness was openly defiant. Other men, of course, clamored for an orderly community even if martial law were required to secure it.

With the coming of the cattle trade which followed closely the arrival of the railroad, matters took on a new aspect. The town then split into "gang" and "anti-gang" elements, the latter faction adhering politically to the county outside as opposed to Dodge City proper. This was just after Ford County had been organized.

The cowboys who now started coming to town in great numbers were not always so bad as they have been represented. Often—too often—they would begin a riotous celebration shooting out lights and committing other acts of violence that were not conducive to public safety. Again, they would take exception to the extortionate business methods practiced by the gamblers and saloonmen and “start trouble.” There were, of course, marshals, and more marshals to preserve peace when possible; and these officials naturally stood in with the “gang” or town clique. As a result, the cowboys usually got the worst of it though they managed now and then to create a lot of excitement in their efforts to even up their alleged wrongs.

Several extracts from the correspondence between Colonel R. I. Dodge, Commandant at the fort, and Governor Thomas Osborn of Kansas are here reproduced. They furnish a good contemporary picture of the conditions that prevailed in 1873 and they also show the inevitable difficulties that arise when military and civil authority conflict.

To Governor Thomas Osborn,
Leavenworth, Kansas.

A most foul and cold-blooded murder committed last night by ruffians in Dodge City. County organized but no election yet. Had nobody with power to act. Please authorize the arrest of murderers.

Richard I. Dodge,
Major Third Inf. Comdg.

Leavenworth, Kan.,
June 4, 1873.

To Richard I. Dodge,
Major Comdg. Third Infantry,
Fort Dodge, Kansas.

Until Ford County is fully organized you are authorized to hold, subject to orders of the civil authorities of the proper

judicial districts, all persons notoriously guilty of a violation of the criminal laws of this state. I desire that you should exercise authority with great care and only in extreme cases.

Thomas A. Osborn,
Governor of Kansas.

A few weeks later the Colonel addressed to the Governor a long letter of which portions follow:

Fort Dodge, Kan., July 5, 1873.

Gov. T. A. Osborn,
Topeka, Kan.

Governor:—Since Judge Brown held court here there have been two more attempts at murder in Dodge City, a negro being the sufferer in each case. The man shot last night will probably die, being wounded in head and lungs.

It is hardly necessary to invite your attention to the fact that I am not the proper person to exercise civil authority. Sec. 18, Act Appd. July 15, 1872, provides that any officer of the army on the active list who shall exercise the functions of a civil office shall thereby vacate his commission.

In making the arrest of the murderers in the Taylor case I exercised no function of civil office, but simply, as a citizen, obeyed the order of the chief magistrate of the state. Should I, however, continue to make arrests of "persons found violating the criminal laws of Kansas" it might be argued that I was violating the spirit if not the letter of the law quoted.

Besides this, there is, as you know, throughout the whole country a very great jealousy on the part of civilians and civilian officers of any interference of the military, and officers of the army are, and must be, extremely careful of their actions in such cases.

In declining to act any further against the ruffians of Dodge City I feel it my duty to make a statement of some facts and to point out some difficulties under which you will labor in undertaking to bring the town under the control of law.

Every one who has had experience of life in railroad and mining towns in unorganized counties or territories beyond the reach of civil law is perfectly aware of the necessity of "vigil-

ance committees," so-called organizations which take upon themselves the right and duty of punishing crime when otherwise it would go on unpunished and unpunishable. Were it not for such organizations life and property would be at the mercy of villains ejected from law-abiding communities and whose only hope of life outside of jails is the absence of the authority of law.

So long as these organizations confine themselves to the legitimate object of punishing crime they are not only laudable but absolutely necessary. It is not often that the property-owning and valuable class of citizens is strong enough to do this work alone. They are obliged to receive into their organizations some of the roughs. These in turn take in others worse than themselves, until, as I have often seen it, a vigilance committee organized by good men in good faith has become after a while simply an organized band of robbers and cutthroats.

Another difficulty: Having banded together and taken certain obligations as to secrecy, mutual protection of the good men sometimes finds them obliged to aid and abet what in their own hearts they know to be cold-blooded crime perpetrated by their associates. The town of Dodge City is under the control of such a band of vigilantes—some good men, some bad. The murder of Taylor was committed by these vigilantes, who were called together on the first alarm, then dispersed to search for Taylor, and while Scott and Hicks (vigilantes both) dragged him from the drug store and shot him to death at least a dozen other vigilantes stood by ready and obliged to take a hand in the shooting if necessary. Among them were good men who would be shocked at the thought of committing individual crime, and yet they aided, abetted and became "particeps criminis" in the most cowardly and cold-blooded murder I have ever known in an experience of frontier life dating back to 1848.

Of course the vigilantes are only a small portion of the population of Dodge City. It is probable they do not number over thirty or forty men; but, being organized and unscrupulous, they are able to exercise a complete tyranny of terror over the really good citizens who lack organization.

In selecting a man from Dodge City to execute the laws, you risk appointing a member of the vigilantes (all the members being known only to themselves), who would use his power for

the benefit of the vigilantes; or you appoint a man well disposed to carry out your views but paralyzed by terror and utterly powerless to do anything.

The government is supposed to give protection. It protects these citizens from the Indians at great expense, yet leaves them to the tender mercies of a foe a thousand times more bloody and brutal than the Indians and infinitely more dangerous because he is in our very midst.

I sincerely hope that you may be able to devise some means of giving security to these people.

Richard I. Dodge,
Major Third Infantry.

The governor thanked the army officer for this communication and took the matter under advisement. For making civil arrests during this period of turmoil Dodge was subsequently arrested and sued for \$5,300 by private parties, but Governor Osborn, through Senator Ingalls, secured the services of the United States District Attorney to defend the Major, and the case fell flat.

Without going further into details it is only necessary to say that Dodge City, like other frontier places, finally secured peace and quiet. While during the worst days the south side of the railroad tracks was given over to saloonmen and gamblers, the north side was usually kept respectable. In taming the town, heroic measures were sometimes used. The old calaboose was a well fifteen feet deep in which drunken men were given time to become sober; this effective "cooler" sometimes held four or five inmates at once. The final cleaning up of the community was effected through the ability of certain fearless citizens to enforce the law backed by an overwhelming public sentiment that demanded law enforcement. In the long run this town, like every other, became exactly what its citizens willed it to be.

It may be worth while to present a few anecdotes, both

trivial and tragic, which characterized its existence when Dodge City was on the railroad frontier.

Old Jim Kelly, a well-known barkeeper, had a tame bear named Paddy. Now Paddy was something of a town pet although the boys were in the habit of tormenting the brute now and then. One morning, after enduring an uncommon lot of persecution, Paddy ran into the Dodge House, the leading hotel, looking for protection.

It happened that one of the downstairs guest rooms was occupied by a commercial traveler, just in from the East. Having retired late the night before he still was asleep, and as the weather was warm his door stood ajar. Into this room rushed Paddy who sought refuge under the bed. For a time all was quiet save for the heavy breathing of the tired wayfarer.

Finding he no longer was pursued the bear finally began to feel uncomfortable, since there was none too much room between the bed slats and the floor. While Bruin was changing his position the bed—mattress, covers, traveling-man, slats, springs and all were heaved wildly about, which quickly brought the slumberer to his senses. Hastily peering under the wrecked bed, he saw two fiery eyes glaring at him. And Paddy, thinking perhaps that his tormentors had returned, ventured to growl. The next instant the hotel clerk heard a yell and a white figure shot through the office and out of doors. Clad only in a night shirt, the scared visitor sprinted the entire length of Front Street, never stopping until he reached the depot. Here he was overtaken by a couple of citizens who, after reassuring him that there was no danger, escorted him back to the hotel. It is said that the traveling-man left town on the next east-bound train.

One day a cowpuncher came to town bent on having a

good time. So he strolled into the Green Front saloon and played his money on a game of chance. In a short time the cattleman was a serious loser and, angry at this ill luck, he determined to bring "charges" against the proprietor of the place for running a gambling house in defiance of the law. So he hunted up the Honorable Mr. Wright, mayor of the town, and after introducing himself presented his case somewhat after this manner:

"A feller in that 'er Green Front has just robbed me of mor'n sixteen dollars and I wants ter have 'im pulled."

"Been gamblin', have ye?" retorted Mr. Wright. Then, addressing the city marshal, Bill Tilghman, who was just crossing the street, he shouted, "Here, Bill, is a fellow who's been gamblin'. Run him in!"

So the prisoner was hauled into police court, where he was fined ten dollars and costs as an object lesson for those who might presume to violate the anti-gambling laws of Dodge City.

There once was a cattleman named Peppard, who was heartily disliked by the Marshals of Dodge. Whenever he came to town trouble always started, and the following story will attempt to describe one particular instance in which he vexed the peace officers of that town.

While driving up a number of cattle for shipment, it is alleged that Peppard's boss killed a negro cook—this being done merely to please Peppard, with whom the boss was intimate. On arriving at Dodge City these two men had a falling-out and, in the language of the time, vowed to "get" each other. Peppard soon located his employer behind a saloon bar, and blazed away at him with a charge of buck-shot. But the boss, being a spry person, managed to dodge behind an ice box and so escaped unhurt.

The boys would allow no more shooting in the "Green

Front" and, after taking away Peppard's gun, they admonished him against further disorders of this kind and told him to leave.

But Peppard was a man of great persistence and he was determined to get even with the boss. Procuring the services of a friend, the two started out to the spot where the negro had been killed, about twenty-five miles from town. On arriving, they dug up the remains, severed the head with an ax and started back to Dodge, having what they thought would be sufficient legal evidence to convict their enemy of murder. When it was presented in court the bullet hole in the skull was claimed to be *prima facie* evidence of the defendant's guilt.

The case was well argued. The prosecution claimed that producing the head in court was equivalent to all the body being present. The bullet hole was, of course, convincing proof of murder.

The defense on the other hand claimed that, since the crime had been committed miles away, the remains were naturally scattered. Hence, if Ford County had jurisdiction over the head, Comanche County, or any neighboring county might therefore go to trial over the other portions of the body.

After much deliberation the court ruled that the case should be given a continuance until the remaining portions of the body could be produced in court—which decision so disgusted Peppard that he left the place and never returned.

It happened during the cattle days, in 1877. Bat Master-son¹ was then sheriff of Ford County and his brother, Ed, was marshal of Dodge City.

One afternoon a gang of Texas cowboys, headed by a fellow known as Corporal Walker, came to town. It seems

¹Still a noted character who at last reports was in New York City.

they were in ugly humor, and, taking possession of a dance hall, started trouble. For a time they were not molested and had things their own way, until their conduct became unbearable even for Dodge City. So the proprietor sent a message to the authorities asking for help and to this request the Masterson brothers responded.

Hurrying to the building, Bat, who was some distance in advance, entered first to see what was going on. It was now early evening. Ed had scarcely reached the door when he met a Texan named Wagner coming out. Always quiet and a gentleman, Ed politely remarked, "Guess I had better disarm you." Drawing his revolver as if to surrender, the cowboy suddenly pressed the muzzle against Masterson's body and fired, setting fire to his victim's clothes. Hearing the report, Bat rushed out, only to see Ed stagger away groaning and with the words, "I've got my dose, Bat; I'm done for."

Bat did not stop for sentiment. Leaping from the sidewalk into the shadowy street, he exclaimed, "Put out the fire, Ed, and try to get some help while I attend to these devils." Scarcely had he spoken before he shot Walker, the leader—who had suddenly appeared—once, twice, through the lungs and through the side. Wagner was shot down with a single bullet just as he was coming through the door. He died that night.

The crowd inside stampeded and broke for cover. Running into the building, Masterson saw that his work had been thoroughly accomplished. In less time than it takes to tell it he had avenged his brother and scattered the gang.

Meanwhile, Walker had managed to reach the rear room of an adjoining saloon, where he fell. Bat Masterson again rushing from the dance hall found Walker missing and at once trailed him into the self-same barroom only to find him

dead. Coming out he met his friend, M. W. Sutton, an attorney. "Come on, Mike," said Bat, "let's hurry and see how poor Ed is getting along."

So they ran across the street in search of the wounded man. It was unnecessary to go far. Ed had staggered to the railroad tracks a few rods north, where he fell and was breathing his last when they reached him. Overcome with grief, Bat turned away, followed by Sutton. The hero of a dozen gunfights sat down on the sidewalk, with tears streaming down his face.

"It will grieve poor mother to death," was all he said.

Thus did three men die in one of the many tragedies of the old railroad frontier.

A well-behaved tenderfoot had no trouble in Dodge City. While there is no authentic record of unsophisticated visitors ever being made to dance at the muzzle of a revolver, the verdant young man from back East usually got what he was looking for. If he were peace-loving and attended strictly to his business he was treated with respect. If, on the other hand, he sought trouble or was anxious to "show off," the boys could always accommodate him.

"Playing Indian" was the favorite method of initiating curious visitors. As might be expected in a frontier town in those days, many people owned Indian trophies, such as war bonnets, shields, bows and arrows, beaded shirts, moccasins and leggings. This paraphernalia was turned to good account in many a joke of which the following is typical. Once a Hebrew named Cohen came out from Kansas City for a hunt, engaging Chalkley Beeson as guide. No sooner were the pair started than the boys arrayed themselves in Indian finery, and mounting their ponies, made a wide detour, secreting themselves in a ravine near which Beeson and Cohen must pass. Having traveled several miles,



BRIDGE OVER CAÑON DIABOLO IN ARIZONA, SHOWING HOW ONE DIFFICULTY WAS OVERCOME

Mr. Beeson, as prearranged, began to explain to his companion that Indians had been seen only a few days before, that a party of Cheyennes had been committing outrages in the vicinity and that there was more or less danger.

Suddenly a fierce warwhoop was heard and the lonely hunters saw a band of painted "warriors" headed straight toward them at full gallop—not two hundreds yards away. There was nothing to do but race their horses back to town if they were to escape this villainous looking crowd. As the yells grew louder, Cohen began to pray for deliverance. Luckily for him he had a good horse, so swift that Beeson could scarcely keep up with him. So the baffled "Indians" were soon left far behind, but they reappeared that evening at the "Long Branch," where the Jew cheerfully bought drinks for the crowd.

On another occasion the tables were turned. A young man who had just arrived from somewhere in the East desired to fight Indians. He was warned that the sandhills were full of warriors but that it might be possible to bag a few antelopes without being massacred. So after the usual jaunt over the prairies the "attack" began and as usual the guide and his frightened companion galloped madly toward town while the crowd behind screamed and fired guns. But, as ill-luck would have it, the visitor had been furnished a slow horse, which soon began to lag. Finding that he could not escape his pursuers, the Easterner suddenly wheeled about and began pumping away at the crowd with a repeating rifle. Due to his excitement, he shot wildly or somebody might have been killed. Finally, to avoid bloodshed, the would-be jokers threw off their Indian headgear and confessed that it was only a prank after all.

Time has worked changes upon the little group of men who made stirring history in Dodge City. Many are dead,

some are scattered, and only a few remain. The lives of those who survive have blended from the wild frontier days into the present conditions of modern life. In looking back over more than forty years they have seen the pastures turned into wheat fields and the cattle trails changed to irrigating ditches. Within their memory the buffaloes and the Indians have disappeared, and the picturesque cowboy has vanished. And so we now turn to the cause of this great transition—the colonizing activities of the railroad.

CHAPTER V

COLONIZING THE PRAIRIES

BUILDING the Santa Fe across Kansas entitled the Company to about 3,000,000 acres of land. This was in accordance with the Congressional Act of 1863, which gave to the corporation 6,400 acres for each mile of railroad duly and satisfactorily constructed. The lands were granted in alternate sections for a distance of ten miles on each side of the track. Or, to aid the imagination, the road was to run through the center of a "checker-board" strip twenty miles in width, and every alternate square mile of this strip belonged to the Railroad Company. The remaining squares which comprised the other half were retained by the government.

This was assuming that none of the lands along the prospective route would have been taken up by settlers before the road was built. But since the railroad had been given ten years in which to construct its line, the act of 1863 wisely provided that if when the road was built and the exact limits of the grant were thereby determined it was found that any portion of these public lands had already been taken up for settlement, the Company should be given the same amounts of land elsewhere. In other words, to receive compensation for lands that might already have been preempted and thereby canceled from the regular limits of its "ten mile" grant, the Company should be awarded odd sections outside the terminal restriction, farther west. It

was further provided that in such event, no lands farther than twenty miles from the railroad should be awarded; which was supposed to guard against unfairness, since the market value of the land naturally depended upon its proximity to the railroad. Thus in effect there was created on each side of the regular tract a supplementary ten mile zone from which the company was likewise granted alternate sections of so-called "indemnity" or "lieu lands."

And it so happened that within the eastern limits of the grant between Atchison and Emporia, practically all the public lands had been taken up for settlement before the building of the road and the consequent withdrawal of the granted lands by the Federal Land Office could be effected. Accordingly the indemnity land zone began at or near Cottonwood Falls in Chase County, and, to insure a full compensating acreage, they extended westward about to Spearville, in Ford County. As finally determined, therefore, the Santa Fe land grant comprised the odd-numbered sections in a tract forty miles wide and about two hundred miles in length, extending from near Emporia, well into Ford County, and a strip twenty miles in width and about one hundred and thirty-five miles long from a point near Dodge City to the Colorado line.

Here, then, was a splendid tract of land of which the railroad's shares exceeded in area the state of Connecticut. The land lay for the most part in the Arkansas River Valley, "the only belt of arable land extending the whole distance between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains." While popular prejudice had long regarded this prairie region of little economic value, its importance as a grazing country had already been recognized when the Texas cattle herds began to move northward for shipment over the Kansas Pacific. And in the early Seventies it was soon

found that the Arkansas Valley lands would raise excellent crops—that they had unsurpassed agricultural possibilities. From the outset, this land grant had been of the greatest importance to the railroad. Its acquisition, as a definite asset, had doubtless been a prime consideration in encouraging financiers to support the railroad enterprise. And with this grant as a security, the Company had also been able to borrow \$3,500,000 on a “land mortgage,” which was getting credit on the approximate basis of \$1.25 per acre. But there remained a larger and far more significant problem, that of colonization. The real importance of these lands lay in their actual disposal to individual settlers—to settlers who would not only buy the land in small tracts for farming purposes, but who would settle and develop the country. Colonizing the land grant would thus benefit the railroad in two ways: a large sum would of course be realized from the sale of these lands to individuals, thus providing additional means to build and extend the road; and with the lands developed into prosperous farms a perpetual and increasing source of traffic revenue would be created. Incidentally, the state and the nation would be the chief beneficiaries; for this colonization meant the redeeming of waste places, the rearing of homes, the building of cities and villages; it meant the permanent westward extension of population and the transformation of the prairies into wealth. It was nation building.

In order therefore to utilize this grant and develop its great possibilities an efficient organization for effecting its sale to individual purchasers was at once demanded. To that end, in 1869, an office had been opened in Topeka under the direction of D. L. Lakin, the first Land Commissioner of the Company; and from this beginning there finally developed the Santa Fe Land Department which was to begin

and carry to successful completion the huge task of "surveying, classifying, appraising, selling and colonizing this great body of land." Lakin, who had been of considerable help to Cyrus Holliday in financing the railroad, was a native of Alabama who had gone to Kansas to look after the land interests of some friends. He seems to have had some experience in this business, and he proved a good official. His first duty was to make an early disposal of the Pottawatomie Reserve, of which mention has been made. These lands were fertile and easily accessible; they were offered to the public on five years' time with provision for annual payments and at a moderate rate of interest. Thus they sold rapidly and, as was intended, they proved of great help in financing the early building operations of the road.

To secure ready cash and thereby obviate the necessity of waiting until the numerous deferred payments on land sales had been met, the Company issued Pottawatomie Land bonds, that is, borrowed money in specified amounts at a fixed rate of interest with the lands and time sales as security. These bonds were charged to the railroad construction account and as fast as paid and canceled they were credited back to this account. All in all the Company realized a handsome profit from the Pottawatomie tract which, it will be recalled, had been purchased simply as a good investment, with a view to securing the needed funds for the early development of the railroad. With this brief consideration of auxiliary land operations, we turn to the important problems of selling and colonizing the Santa Fe land grant.

In the spring of 1870 the survey and appraisalment of the grant began under the direction of Lakin. A party of nine, consisting of Mr. Lakin, Land Commissioner, a compassman, a flagman, a cook, an outfit-boss, wagon-boss, and three

appraisers, Capt. R. M. Spivey, Col. A. S. Johnson and J. B. McAfee, began the work, the completion of which was to require over four years. The party started at Emporia and worked slowly westward. They traveled well-armed in a covered wagon. Frequently they met bands of Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Comanches who resented the invasion of their country; but, while the party often had to resort to vigorous diplomacy, they never had a conflict with the savages.

The task was to survey and ascertain the topography of the land and go over and secure a description of each section. These descriptions, together with the appraised values, were then forwarded to the Commissioner's office in Topeka, whereupon the lands generally were described by counties, and maps were made of each county along the line. This was done to facilitate the handling of land sales. The commissioner then submitted these descriptions and estimates to the railroad directors, who placed definite selling prices upon the lands in question.

Bad health soon compelled Mr. Lakin to resign and he was succeeded in 1872 by Mr. A. E. Touzalin. At the time of his withdrawal Lakin had the sale of the Pottawatomie lands well under way, while the survey and appraisal of the land grant was moving steadily. The sale of the grant land had been started with the appointment of a few local agents at the east end of the grant. The most noteworthy of these agents was the firm of Case and Billings at Marion, who were to be the means of locating the first Mennonite settlers in that locality.

Finding the work thus well started, Mr. Touzalin now proceeded to organize a land and immigration department. His task was to conclude the Pottawatomie sales, finish the surveys and appraisal now about half-completed, and above

all to devise a plan for selling and peopling the land grant with the greatest possible despatch. Touzalin seems to have been well-fitted for the work at hand. He was a man of great energy and fully aware of the future possibilities that lay in the accomplishment of his undertaking. Having appointed one C. P. Bolmar to supervise the routine details of his office, Touzalin first ordered a continuance of the surveying and appraisement which was now proceeding under A. S. Johnson, R. M. Spivey, D. N. Hizer, and a civil engineer named Armstrong, and then turned his real attention to the securing of good land salesmen and colonization agents in the older states farther east. Among those especially desired for this work were country editors, teachers, young lawyers, and professional real estate men. Local sales agencies were also established in all important towns along the line from Florence westward.

It was the duty of these men to arouse interest in the company lands and to induce people to go to Kansas for the purpose of viewing and purchasing such quantities as they could afford to buy. A big advertising campaign was started which brought thousands of inquiring letters. Mailing lists were prepared, followed by a heavy correspondence which in those days without stenographers and typewriters was no small task. The whole enterprise was a serious undertaking. The railroad company was new and was straining every effort to expand. Its existence depended upon expansion, for its traffic—the life of any railroad—depended in turn upon the opening and development of the country. It was actually creating its own business by colonizing a wilderness. Times were hard. The country had just passed through a severe panic and money was scarce. But few if any salaries could be paid to the land agents who were to make the campaign effective. After having been duly com-

missioned as representatives of the Company they were furnished with a quantity of advertising literature descriptive of the lands. For remuneration they had to depend upon their commissions from sales actually made.

Mr. Touzalin's land-selling campaign soon extended from America to Europe. His greatest performance and his greatest service to the railroad and to this country was to initiate a movement which resulted in the permanent removal of about 15,000 Russo-German Mennonites from Southern Russia to the Santa Fe railroad lands of Kansas. The Mennonites were by no means the only class of Europeans who were induced by the Company's Agents to settle in the Arkansas Valley, as many came from various parts of Europe. But they were the largest group to be transplanted and their coming was of great significance because the Mennonites were professional farmers, just what the country needed. They brought money with them and so had both the capital and training which made them highly desirable colonizers. They were a substantial and thrifty class of people and the regions they settled are to-day among the most prosperous communities in the country. To understand this Mennonite movement, to know why these excellent people left thrifty homes in Russia and emigrated with all their possessions thousands of miles to settle on the raw prairies of Kansas we must digress briefly into European history.

The Mennonites are a Protestant sect who reject infant baptism; they baptize adult persons only and then on a profession of faith. Chief among the tenets of their belief are non-resistance and abstinence from oaths. Their creed thus forbids them to bear arms and they refuse, from religious convictions, to do military service. While their doctrines include some of the main principles of the Baptists

and the Quakers, the Mennonite denomination preceded both. Their first church was established at Zurich, Switzerland, in 1525. While they called themselves "Teufer," or Baptizers, they were more commonly known as Anabaptists. From Switzerland the sect spread rapidly into Southern Germany and Austria. Augsburg and Strassburg became their chief centers and in these cities persecutions broke out. The "Anabaptists" were especially disliked by ruling authorities because of their attitude toward organized governments, which they regarded as un-Christian; and it was a warlike age when non-combativeness was held in supreme contempt. Following bitter attacks in which about 3,000 of their number suffered martyrdom a large number migrated into Moravia and Holland; others settled in Westphalia, where they continued zealously to practice their faith and became involved in some so-called heresies. About 1537, Menno Simons (1492-1559), a Roman priest and religious reformer, who, becoming dissatisfied, had left the Catholic Church, joined the Anabaptists and at once began to organize the sect. Likewise he crystallized their beliefs in a doctrinal work entitled "Elements of the True Christian Faith," which was published in the Dutch language in 1539. It was from Menno Simons, this religious teacher and leader, that the name Mennonite was derived; and the members of the faith have been so designated since the middle of the Sixteenth Century.

In Holland, about 6,000 of the Dutch Mennonites were martyred under Philip of Spain, when the Netherlands revolted. Although William of Orange was friendly, other Dutch leaders opposed them and so it was not until 1651 that a general law of toleration was enacted on their behalf. To-day the Mennonites of Europe are found in small communities in Switzerland, in various parts of Germany, and

in Southern Russia. It is with the latter group that we are now concerned. In 1783 the Crimean Peninsula and a strip of territory fronting the Black Sea were ceded to Russia by Turkey. It soon occurred to the Empress Catherine II, who was by birth a German Princess, that the German Mennonites, whom she knew to be a sturdy folk and splendid farmers, would make good colonizers for this region. It was further hoped that they would intermingle with the natives of the Black Sea region, thereby improving the citizenship of Southern Russia. Knowing their religious peculiarities, Catherine made important concessions to induce them to settle in Russia. They were granted immunity from military service, freedom of worship, and the privilege of local self-government. Furthermore, each family was granted 65 desjardines, about 160 acres of land. These concessions were guaranteed to the Mennonites for one hundred years, at the expiration of which time each family would be given title in fee simple for the 65 desjardines. Under these conditions large numbers of the Mennonites went to Russia and their settlements, which were first made along the Dnieper River, soon spread into the Crimea and eastward to the vicinity of the Sea of Azof. Other settlements were made along the Kuban River, near the Caucasus Mountains: along the Volga near the cities of Saratov and Samara, and in the provinces of Volhynia and Bessarabia.

The Mennonite colonies of Southern Russia grew in number and in wealth. Sheep-raising and wheat-growing became their chief business. The staple was wheat, which soon transformed practically all the arable lands of this region into a vast grain field. The Black Sea towns of Odessa, Kherson, together with Berdiansk, and Taganrog on the Sea of Azof, became famous as grain-shipping ports. The annual supply of the South Russian fields is even said to

have been an important factor in determining the price of wheat in the world's markets. The Mennonite settlements of Southern Russia had been gratifying to the Imperial Government in all ways but one: the German Colonists would not amalgamate with the Russian or Tartar natives. They would employ the latter for service in the harvest fields, but this was practically the extent of their intermingling.

The increasing wealth and the social exclusiveness of the Mennonites, together with the privileges which they enjoyed, finally aroused a strong feeling of jealousy on the part of the native Russians and because of this feeling, considerable pressure was at length brought to bear upon the government for the abolition of these special privileges. Sensitive of the unrest that was thus being created, the Russian government began to look for a pretext. It was duty-bound to take no action before 1883, at which time the hundred year limit would expire, and to its credit the Russian government did not break this agreement which Catherine II had made. The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 offered the Government a solution for its embarrassment. Russia would remain neutral during the conflict only under certain conditions and one of these was that Germany withdraw the political guardianship which hitherto it had exerted over all German people residing in the Russian Empire. Bismarck acceded to this condition only upon the requirement that the German colonists, of whom there were, including Mennonites, about three millions, should be given ten years in which to migrate, in case they did not choose to become subjects of Russia. To this Russia assented, but the Mennonites were not informed of this arrangement. They were not concerned with politics and ordinarily read no newspapers except perhaps their church publications. Had it not been for Cornelius Jansen, a member of their faith who was

Prussian Consul at Berdiansk, the ten years might have elapsed without the colonists having learned of the significant change in the Imperial Government's intentions. Had this been the case, they doubtless would suddenly have been compelled to submit to Russian demands—enroll in the army and attend Russian schools, which were controlled by the Greek Catholic Church. But Jansen, who of course was in touch with public events, informed his brethren of Russia's action. Great excitement prevailed. The devout colonists could not think of changing their religion or their customs. Their only alternative was to leave the country. Jansen advised them to go to America, where he knew there was religious toleration. Straightway this advice met with favor and many of the Germans made immediate preparations for their journey to the new world. Meanwhile, the Russian Government, learning what Jansen had done, expelled him and his family. He came to America at once, reaching this country about the time the Santa Fe Land Department had begun to advertise its low-priced Kansas lands.

Mr. Touzalin quickly saw the great desirability of bringing the Mennonites to Kansas and settling them upon his Company's lands; and on hearing that the Imperial decree was likely to drive them out of Russia, he made instant plans for securing these splendid colonists. Circumstances favored Touzalin. At Lawrence, Kansas, near Topeka, he chanced to know a well-educated young German named Carl B. Schmidt, who was engaged in the mercantile business.

Schmidt was of excellent address, a native of Germany, wrote and spoke the language perfectly, was at the time corresponding for several newspapers in Germany and hence was in fairly close touch with conditions in Europe. It occurred to Touzalin that Schmidt would be an excellent man to send directly to the Mennonites in Russia and after

appointing him an Immigration Commissioner this was accordingly planned. Such a scheme seemed in every way desirable, and for two reasons: First, it happened that in the winter of 1869-70 the firm of Case and Billings, Santa Fe land agents at Marion, had sold to M. W. Keim of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, a Mennonite recently arrived from Europe, a tract of some five thousand acres. The purchase proved satisfactory. Keim was followed by others of his faith, and within three years a considerable number had settled in and about Marion County. These early settlers, it appears, had written to some of their friends in Germany and Russia, describing favorably their lands and prospects. Secondly, Mr. Schmidt had got into touch with Cornelius Jansen shortly after the latter arrived in the country. In the summer of 1873 Schmidt induced Jansen to visit Kansas and examine the Santa Fe land grant. The two men spent about a week traveling over the Company's lands and, since Jansen was very influential with the sect, the favorable impression that he gained soon proved of much help to the Land Department in its attempts to secure Mennonite Colonists.

So when the Mennonites in Russia learned that their privileges had been revoked, they sent a delegation of five, including Bishop Jacob Funk and Bishop Ewert of Russia, and Peter Funk of Germany, to ascertain the truth of the various reports concerning America. These men visited Harvey, Sedgwick, Reno, Marion and McPherson Counties, were pleased, bought land, and on their returning to Russia with a favorable report a colony led by Bishop Jacobe Wiebe came, settling in Marion and Harvey Counties. As to this colony which, though poorer than the average, was quite typical of the others, we will let good Bishop Wiebe tell the story, and his quaint and simple narrative is here presented just as the bishop wrote it.—



FIRST GENERAL OFFICE BUILDING ERECTED BY THE SANTA FE

As Mr. Alex E. Case requested me to say something of our people's arrival in America, and especially to Marion County, Kansas, I will comply with this request.

We left our dear homes in Russia, May 30th, 1874, and arrived, after a trip of many hardships, at Peabody, August 16th, and soon became acquainted with Mr. Case and Mr. Billings, because they assisted us very much with our twelve sections of land which we bought of the Santa Fe Railroad Company.

But now comes the question why we left Russia and came to America, as it brought with it many hardships; so I will answer briefly and modestly that it was conviction. Our grandfathers came from Holland to Germany, and from Germany to Russia, and here received a privilege that they and their descendants should be exempt from military duty, with the condition, to give low taxes to the Crown. Also our fathers were to be model farmers, lay out neat villages, plant gardens, and be a good example in agriculture, in sheep and cattle raising and so forth. But after a course of 100 years this privilege was annulled or abolished, and in the year 1870 Czar Alexander gave orders in his empire to the effect that every one whom the new law did not please, and who would not or could not go under the militia, was at liberty to emigrate within ten years with his full property, if he chose to hold fast to his fathers' faith. And this seemed to be in such earnest that we sent deputies to Petersburg to pray for longer freedom; however, all seemed useless; instead of freedom, with no exception, military duty for every one, after the expiration of ten years. As that was against Jesus' teaching, and against ours from Godly conviction, as Jesus says to Peter: "Put up thy sword into its place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," Math. 5th and Rom. 12th, we sent several elders and deputies to America, to see if the newspaper reports, as also in private letters, were true, that in America full freedom in conscience prevailed. When the deputies returned after three or four months absence they confirmed that, and so we prepared for emigration, and applied for passports, because we wanted to emigrate from Russia as honest people, and we began to sell our property. When the Czar Alexander learned of this, he sent General Von Todleben to the Molotschuer Colony, who let all emigrants come to church,

once at Halbstadt, and at another time at Alexanderwohl in Elder Jacob Buller's great church, and so there came very many together. Then the General Todleben in his full military uniform stepped before the great assembly, and looked about with the question: "Are all these emigrants?" Then he began to speak, loud and distinctly, in pure German: "His Majesty, the Czar Alexander, has sent me to you and I am to tell you he loves you, you are worthy to dwell in this empire, why do you have it in mind to emigrate? One hundred years your old fathers have been in this land, you enjoy it here, you have everything arranged so well, why will you emigrate? You have fine schools, fine churches, fine houses and gardens, you need not work yourselves, the work is being done without you, all you have to do is to look after the work, you can hire Russian laborers at low wages. Why will you emigrate? When you come to America you will have to dig trees, weed the roots and break the prairie and do all your work yourself. Here you have it as fine as you wish."

And so the high official worked very hard against emigration, he was faithful and true in his duty, and later made an offer, that those who did not like to serve in military duty, and take weapons, they could do sanitary service, (1) Nurse the sick, (2) Build bridges, (3) Make plantations, that is, take care of woods and forests. The latter has been chosen by those remaining, that when a young man is 21 years old he has to go to the lot, and if found fit has to serve several years in the forestry service.

But as we had already disposed of all our property I presented a petition to the general, we thanked his Majesty the Czar for the grants we had enjoyed in Russia and prayed for dismissal, which the General Von Todleben promised. We received our passports, and could leave our earthly dearly loved homes, as well as many friends, parents, brothers and sisters, May 30th. July 15th we arrived in New York. A great portion of our fellow travelers went from Liverpool, England, to Manitoba, and another portion went to Hamburg, Germany, direct to Dakota and Minnesota. Therefore we have emigrated with the Czar's approbation, and so faithful and obedient as we have been in Russia, so far as God's word and our conscience allowed us,

so we have had a mind to be in America, and want to seek the peace of the land, as long as our fathers' principle is not touched. We thank God that we could live in this dearly beloved America these 38 years, according to our faith and principle, and that we can if we have a mind to live our faith.

From New York we journeyed to Elkhart, Indiana, where we arrived one Sunday morning. We knew John F. Funk through the newspaper, "*Herald der Wahrheit*"; he provided an empty house. Those of us that had no room in this house were provided for in the church. Elder Funk had announced that people from Russia had arrived, so many of the poor were furnished with provisions. In the afternoon I was invited to preach in the church to many hearers. Here our people lived for a number of weeks, several of our brethren received work. Frank R. Jansen and I were sent ahead to look for a suitable place for settlement. We traveled all over Nebraska and Kansas. In Nebraska we were afraid of the deep wells which had to be drilled and cost much money, our people did not have much money and they were used to dug wells, so we decided for Kansas where we found the wells shallow. C. B. Schmidt drove with us all over Kansas as far as Great Bend. On a hot August day we ate our dinner under a tree on section 13 on the South Cottonwood river, where Peter Harms now lives. The heat was great. Agent Schmidt looked at his hands full of blisters, saying, "I believe I have done my part." Secretly he feared we might yet decide for Nebraska.

When finally we had bought the land, 12 sections, we let our people follow us. Agent Schmidt offered to go for them to Elkhart, personally, while we were making preparations for their arrival. We hurried namely to get ready with everything before the winter. I rented an empty store, bought a stove, table, two horses and a wagon. While we waited for our families it was very hot, so that we have not had a greater heat since.

I came into great temptation on account of the high winds, everything was dry and withered. The year before grasshoppers had taken all. I knew, so soon as our people would be here, the wind and dust swept through the street of Peabody. I on a sudden became afraid of the future whether we would make our living here or not. The great responsibility of having selected

a place of settlement for so many poor people rested heavily upon me. In my great grief I sat down on the steps, I thought of the poor families with their children, we had no provisions, no friend in the new world, the winter was nigh at the door, we were wanting of dwellings, provisions, agricultural implements and seed; everything was high in price, some of our people were old, weak and sick, the future seemed very gloomy; there were also no prospects of rain, only windy, dusty and very hot, all this fell over me, so I could not help myself but leave my tears free flow. While I was thus sitting on the threshold weeping, Mrs. August Seybold came to me and asked me: "Mr. Wiebe, what ails you?" I told her my grief, then she began to console me. She pointed to the street, saying: "Do you see those stones? They are sometimes entirely under water, it can rain very hard here, and it soon will rain. Oh! Mr. Wiebe, be of good cheer, such people as you will even make their living!" And so it was, it soon began to rain.

On a Saturday night our people arrived at Peabody. Sunday we rode out upon the land. John Fast, Sr., who already lived here, came with a conveyance to get people, also Wilhelm Ewart, Mrs. Peter Funk and John Ratzloff sent teams. I took my family in my own wagon; it was the 17th day of August when we rode from Peabody onto the land, 14 miles northwest. I had loaded some lumber and utensils, and my family on top. So we rode in the deep grass to the little stake that marked the spot I had chosen. When we reached the same I stopped, my wife asked me, "Why do you stop?" I said, "We are to live here." Then she began to weep. Several families moved into Mr. Funk's barn, where soon after old mother Abraham Cornelson died—the first dead body of our people in America. We built light board shanties, dug wells, in three weeks it began to rain, there came a heavy rain. We rented some plowed land from English neighbors, who lived on sections 12 and 14. Seed wheat was seventy cents in price, corn was high priced, there had been no crop that year, it was \$1.25; potatoes were \$2 a bushel. The first sowed wheat brought a bountiful harvest the next year. We had not sowed very much, but that little brought much. That gave us courage.

Since we settled on Section 11-R-2, Risley township, the

17th of August, 1874, we have fared well, although at the beginning we were very poor. We originally bought 12 sections of land of the railroad company in Risley township, later Liberty township, on ten years' credit, we had to pay down some, and the dear friend and general agent C. B. Schmidt, and Case and Billings, have treated us nicely and faithfully. We were all poor people, many families owed their traveling expenses. They had to go in debt for land, oxen, plow, farmer's wagon and even their sod house; they had to have provisions for a year; there was no chance of earning something, so they had to go in debt for that too, so there was no other way than to borrow money, but where? We were strangers, had no friends here, only Bernhard Warkentin of Halstead knew us from Russia, and he helped us through Elder Christian Krehbiel with a loan of a thousand dollars, when those were distributed, it was said: "Brother Wiebe, we also need oxen and a plow to brake prairie." Then Cornelius Jansen of Nebraska, the well-known Consul Jansen, loaned us one thousand dollars; when these were distributed, it was said, "Brother Wiebe, we have to buy provisions for a year, and some lumber to build little houses," then the Elder Wilhelm Ewart loaned us one thousand dollars. Then the time of payment for the land came, so Jacob Funk loaned us one thousand dollars. So we sat in our poor sod houses, some two feet deep in the ground, the walls of sods, the roof of long reed grass, that reached into the prairie. In part we were glad to have progressed so far before the winter, but we did not think of the great danger we were in, as we lived up to knee middle in the prairie. But there we had a dear English neighbor on section 12, John Risley, the good man saw in what great danger we were, because we lived some twenty-five families on one section of land, all in a row as in a village. The dear friend, John Risley, had seen the prairie fire in the west, so he went for his five pairs of oxen and big prairie plow, and plowed five or eight times around the village with his five yoke of oxen, and brotherly told us: "Now, dear people, burn off the grass between the furrows, else all you have may burn you," and we followed his advice, thanks to the Lord.

The dear Heavenly Father has a watchful eye, and has looked down on us with favor, we have had several good crops, and

have repaid, and when the crops failed—especially in the year 1879—grasshoppers came, and we could not make our payments at the appointed time. But the company had pity and patience with us. The dear Elder Ewart to whom I have complained, that our brethren could not hold term, said: “With nice buggies you are not riding yet, and two story houses you are not building yet, so are we obliged to wait.”

The preacher Ewart lived temporarily in a barn, and rode in a large farmer wagon with his delicate wife. He made little do, and helped other poor people. We have, thanks be to God, repaid everything, it is however to be regretted that some ventured into so much debt, and since then gave their farms to the Company.

I am old now and will soon leave this world, and I pity the next generation. They no longer learn to ride with oxen, nor to plow with handplow, but instead everything goes high out, instead with oxen, with carriages or automobiles, though they will stick deep in debt.

JACOB A. WIEBE.

The efforts of the Santa Fe Land Department were meeting with marked success. Down to the end of March, 1873, a total of 250,637.62 acres had been disposed of at an average price of \$5.81 an acre; and sales for the twelve months just ended were 133,507.3 acres. In 1871 there had been 472 sales with a total of 71,801.51 acres; in 1872, there were but 277 sales amounting to 45,328.81 acres. The next twelve months there were 830 sales comprising 133,507.3 acres; while for the fiscal year which ended March 31st, 1874, the purchases rose to 1261 with an aggregate of 200,459.96 acres. The sales averaged about 160 acres, showing that the great majority of these buyers were seeking homes. Of the 1261 purchasers in 1874, 461 came from Illinois, 327 from foreign countries, 122 from Kansas, 89 from Iowa, 52 from Ohio, 50 from Indiana, and 30 from Massachusetts. The rest came from twenty other scattering states.

This movement of course increased the population rapidly. In 1870 Kansas had a total of 364,234; while in 1874, according to the State Board of Agriculture, this number had risen to 530,367, an increase of 166,113, or about 46% in four years. In thirteen of the eighteen counties now traversed by the Santa Fe the population had increased from 64,440 to 105,661, or 64%.

In 1873 there were 3,031,957 acres under cultivation in Kansas. A year later this acreage was 3,669,769, an increase of 638,812 acres, or 21%. In ten counties along the line of the Santa Fe the cultivated area rose from 561,785 acres in 1873 to 711,248 in 1874—an increase of 149,463 acres or about 30%. The other counties which were new are not included in these figures.

The excellent progress was checked temporarily by a serious drouth and a plague of grasshoppers which in the summer of 1874 practically destroyed the Kansas corn crop in the Arkansas Valley. A fair yield of wheat was secured in the older portions of the state but since there were now many thousands of newly-located settlers depending almost wholly upon their first crop of sod corn for a start, much suffering ensued during the fall and winter of 1874-75. Many subsisted as long as they could on what little live stock they had, and then lived on public charity. Others left the State, the railroad giving them free transportation back East. Organized relief work was promptly begun. People in the older states east of the Missouri gave liberally to the sufferers, while railroads in many cases handled these famine supplies free of charge. In Kansas a State Relief Committee was organized and with this Committee the Santa Fe warmly coöperated. For the year ending December 31st, 1875, the Company transported free of charge large amounts of freight of which the Mennonites, according to contract, re-

ceived 1,798,000 lbs.; and on account of the so-called grasshopper sufferers the railroad hauled gratis 9,972,000 lbs. of supplies—food, clothing, and implements. Bulky commodities like grain or coal were moved for the bare cost of hauling. In addition, the Company gave the needy farmers along its line thousands of bushels of seed wheat for the fall planting of 1874 and 1875.

Because of these conditions, land sales in 1875 dropped to 75,415 acres and immigration for a time virtually ceased. With the bad repute which the famine had thus brought upon the Company lands and Kansas in general, the outlook for the railroad was discouraging; but the people did not become greatly disheartened, and the railroad officials merely redoubled their efforts. A good acreage of wheat was sown in 1874, and for November and December of that year the railroad earnings were \$30,000 more than for the same months of the preceding year. Prosperity returned the following season. Whereas the corn crop of 1874 had been less than 16,000,000 bushels, in 1875 it was over 80,000,000 bushels; and the wheat output rose from 9,800,000 to 13,000,000 bushels. These crop yields of course did much to restore confidence and to stimulate land-buying.

Meanwhile, Mr. Touzalin, finding himself out of harmony with President Thomas Nickerson of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Co., had resigned in 1874. Nickerson then appointed Col. A. S. Johnson,¹ Acting Commissioner, and in

¹ Alexander S. Johnson was born in what is now Johnson County, Kansas, July 11, 1832. His father, the Rev. Thomas Johnson, was a Missionary to the Shawnee Indians. Alexander was educated in the Shawnee Mission School, completing his studies in a college at Fayette, Missouri, in 1851. He was then engaged for three years in the mercantile business in and about Kansas City. In 1854 he left this business to become Deputy U. S. Surveyor, which work engaged him for several years. In 1855 he was elected to the first Territorial Legislature of

1880 Johnson was given the combined title of Land and Tax Commissioner. He had already spent several years surveying and appraising the Santa Fe lands, and before coming to this Company had served as Land Commissioner of the Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad. An able and experienced man, Johnson now took up the task which Touzalin had abandoned. In spite of drouths or grasshoppers, good crops or bad, the lands had to be sold and the colonization must go on.

The efficient system for advertising and selling the lands which Mr. Touzalin had devised was elaborated still further by his successor and the work was now to continue with renewed effort. In the spring of 1875 a big publicity campaign, in which the lands were extensively advertised in the newspapers, both large and small, throughout the Mississippi Valley was begun. It will be recalled that already a considerable number of local agents had been appointed throughout this section. The extensive advertising of 1875 was designed not only to arouse general interest in the railroad lands, but to stimulate the efforts of resident agents. Perhaps the cleverest stroke of publicity which Col. Johnson accomplished was to invite the leading newspaper men of the Middle West to visit Kansas and take a free trip over

Kansas; in 1866 he served another term as State Representative from Johnson County.

Shortly after the Civil War began, Johnson organized a military company which was finally merged into the Thirteenth Kansas Militia, of which he was appointed a Lieut.-Colonel by Governor Carney. He was under arms nearly four years. From 1866 to 1870 Col. Johnson was Land Commissioner of the Fort Scott and Gulf R. R. From 1870 to 1874 in the service of the Santa Fe Land Department as surveyor and appraiser; from 1874 to 1880 acting Land Commissioner; and from 1880 to 1880 Land and Tax Commissioner of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. After leaving the Santa Fe Col. Johnson lived in retirement until his death in 1904.

the Santa Fe line as guests of the Railroad Company, that they might see the country for themselves. About three hundred editors and correspondents accepted this invitation and the affair was a thorough success. The trip across Kansas was made in June when the country was at its best, with great fields of yellow grain, and corn waist high. Going home pleased with their entertainment and what they had seen, these men of course wrote glowing accounts of their experiences. Which meant that about three hundred newspapers throughout the Mississippi Valley, in their news and editorial columns, gave the lie to "Bleeding Kansas," lauding the Santa Fe railroad and its lands. The result was to interest thousands of people hitherto indifferent and to induce many to go to Kansas, there to buy lands and settle permanently.

Almost immediately these efforts were supplemented by the appointment of a number of immigration agents whose duty it was to visit the more important towns of Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, and personally solicit immigration to Kansas. At about the same time these men organized a big home-seekers' excursion to Kansas. Unusually low rates were offered, the excursion was widely advertised, and about twelve hundred prospective land-buyers were finally induced to make the trip which the agents successfully conducted. Because the middle states were then almost wholly agricultural, and were relatively near to Kansas, they were considered a better field than the East. It soon became common for heads of families in the states mentioned to sell their farms at from twenty to one hundred dollars per acre and buy undeveloped prairie lands—lands that were to prove as good or better than those they had left—at from five to six dollars an acre.

In the meantime, Col. Johnson had been fully awake to

the importance of the Mennonite movement, which immigration had alone progressed regardless of the drouth and grasshopper plague of 1874. On September 8th of that year six hundred arrived in Topeka, and they were followed on the 23d by eleven hundred more. On the 14th of October these people bought 100,000 acres of land from the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Company. January 2d, 1875, two hundred more arrived from Russia, going directly to Great Bend, settling on or near the main line.

It was now determined to begin operations in Europe. Accordingly Mr. Schmidt sailed from New York in February, 1875, and after visiting among the wealthy Mennonites in Prussia near Danzig and Marienburg, where some valuable colonists were afterwards secured, he crossed the Russian frontier at Wirballen and began his long railroad journey into Southern Russia. Owing to deep snow, which often impeded traffic, the trip was slow and tedious, ten miles an hour being about the average speed. After a week of steady travel, Schmidt came to the town of Alexandrovsk, where he left the train in company with a party of German Lutheran Colonists whom he had met en route. The Lutherans had no scruples against remaining in Russia and did not intend to migrate; but they knew of the Mennonites and their plans and so were able to give Schmidt some valuable information concerning the Mennonite Colonies. After paying a short visit to the Lutheran Village of Friedrichsfeld, the Agent reached Alexanderwohl, the first Mennonite village at the end of an all-day sleigh ride. Here there lived Herr Klaassen, a Mennonite leader of great wealth and influence. He seems to have stood in well with the Imperial Government and was a fatherly adviser to his people for miles around. Schmidt had been advised by the Mennonites in Kansas that this man's influence should by all means be procured, and

before leaving had been given letters of introduction to him and about one hundred other Mennonites throughout the colony. But Klaassen, strange to say, gave no encouragement. The discontented element, he said, had already gone to America. Those who remained were satisfied, and why should they want to leave? The Czar loved the Mennonites and treated them like a father. Not long before General Von Todleben, a friend of Czar Alexander II and a German by descent, had been sent as an Imperial ambassador to the Mennonite villages, where he had held public meetings and convinced the people that they should not emigrate to America. Klaassen further told Schmidt that the latter was only wasting his time in trying to incite further emigration and that in so doing he was also running the risk of incurring the hostility of the Government.

Having come several thousand miles to secure colonists for the Santa Fe lands, matters now looked discouraging enough for Schmidt. He assured his host that he would return to Germany after delivering some family letters in the next village. Starting out on the following morning for the estate of another leading Mennonite who had friends in Kansas, the land agent was soon told that Klaassen had misinformed him and that many families were then preparing to leave for America. Schmidt was also warned to be careful, since Klaassen would promptly notify the Russian Governor at Simferopol of his presence, which might lead to his arrest.

Schmidt, however, gave little heed to such fears and proceeded to visit each of the fifty-six Mennonite villages comprising the Molotschna or Milk River Colony. Everywhere he was warmly received, which was due not only to the numerous letters of introduction which he carried, but because his coming had already been announced to the people

by letters from Kansas. Crowds greeted him in public halls and listened with deep interest to his descriptions of Kansas, where numbers of the brethren had already located. Many interesting questions were asked; some thought there was danger from the Indians in Kansas since Indian Territory was so near. Soldiers therefore would be needed there, and the Mennonites did not bear arms. But Mr. Schmidt was able to reassure them that Indian Territory was not a dangerous place and that the Kansas Constitution exempted from military service those whose religious beliefs forbade it.

In an interesting document narrating his experiences during this trip Mr. Schmidt speaks of the Mennonites as he found them in Russia:

My desire to transplant to Kansas as many of these people as possible increased as I traveled through those thrifty and handsome villages. The dwelling-houses were large brick structures with tile roofs, a flower garden between the street and the house, and well-kept vegetable garden, and orchard in the rear. The stables were filled with splendid work-horses of heavy build, and the sheds with vehicles of all descriptions, among them comfortable family coaches and all kinds of American farming machinery. They were certainly the best appointed farming communities I had seen anywhere. Scattered over the country were large, isolated estates, with buildings reminding one of the feudal baronial castles of Western Europe. Their owners were millionaire Mennonites, who had acquired large tracts of land by private purchase. I was entertained by one of them, who had the reputation of being the largest sheep owner in Europe. When I asked him how many sheep he owned, he could not tell, but said he had 3000 shepherd dogs taking care of his flock. A little figuring developed that he owned over half a million sheep scattered in flocks all along the coast of the Black Sea.

As Mr. Schmidt traveled farther and farther through the Molotschna Colony people continued to flock to hear him.

After speaking to large crowds two or three times a day for a month, his voice gave out. At the same time it was rumored about that he had been captured by government officials and sent to Siberia. To get a little rest and to allow these rumors to subside he withdrew for a few days to Berdiansk, the chief port for the Mennonite colonies on the Sea of Azof. "At the time of my visit," he says, "it had about 25,000 inhabitants of great variety of nationalities—Russians, Turks, Tartars, Bulgarians, Armenians, Greeks, English, and Germans. It was from this port that, four months after my visit, a Red Star Line steamer carried a full cargo of household goods, farm implements, and wagons, the personal property of 400 Mennonite families, from the Molotschna Colonies to Philadelphia, consigned to Newton, Kansas, and carried all the way at the expense of the Santa Fe Railroad Company. It was here also where a Mennonite bishop entrusted me with 80,000 rubles (\$56,000) in the form of a draft on Hamburg, with the request to invest that sum in land-grant bonds of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company, which then could be bought at sixty-five per cent of their face value, but were accepted at par by the Company in payment for land."

Proceeding on his journey from Berdiansk, Mr. Schmidt continued "preaching the gospel of emigration to Kansas from village to village." On learning finally that he was being pursued by Russian police and in real danger of arrest, he was driven overland at night from the village of Ruckenu to Terpinje, where he was kindly sheltered by a prominent Mennonite named Warkentin. From Terpinje, Schmidt was driven to Melitopol, the nearest railroad town, whence he took train to Odessa, at which city was the only American consul in Southern Russia. Deciding that it was unwise to remain longer in the country, Schmidt had his passport

endorsed and started westward, where he spent two months in Austria, Germany and Switzerland, appointing agents for the Santa Fe immigration work. This ended Mr. Schmidt's first mission to Europe. It bore good results. That same year 400 Mennonite families, comprising 1,900 people, came to Kansas, bringing with them \$2,250,000 in gold. These people ² purchased 60,000 acres of Kansas land, practically, if not all, from the Santa Fe Company in Marion, McPherson, Harvey, and Reno Counties.

About 15,000 Mennonites had settled on the Santa Fe railroad lands by the year 1883, when the Russian Government, beginning to feel the loss of so many useful subjects, at last decided to continue the special privileges which the Mennonites had long enjoyed, such as exemption from military service, religious toleration, and German schools, and this checked the emigration to a large extent. Some few continued to come, however, and the large movement which has just been discussed started a similar emigration from South Germany, Prussia and Switzerland. By 1905 it was estimated that fully 60,000 had settled in Kansas, with some branch settlements in Oklahoma and Colorado.

The coming of the Mennonites was an event of great importance. These people have proved their worth as farmers, colonizers, and citizens of the highest type. They have transformed a large section of South Central Kansas into splendid farms; they have built comfortable homes, fine churches, and good schools. They have contributed much

²For about a month, while awaiting the final selection of their lands, the 400 families lived in a huge brick building in Topeka which the railroad company had just purchased for car shops. The merchants of the city did a flourishing business selling the newcomers goods with which to stock their prospective homes. Before leaving Topeka, the whole party were received in the State house by the Governor, whose hospitality was much appreciated.

to the wealth and higher morale of Kansas. They are ideal citizens. And finally it was a Mennonite, Bernhard Warkentin, who, about the year of 1885, introduced into Kansas the celebrated hard, or Turkey wheat from Southern Russia. This improved variety of grain was grown here with instant success and it has made Kansas not only an exporter of flour, but the greatest wheat producing state in America. The 1914 Kansas wheat crop was 181,000,000 bushels, worth approximately one dollar a bushel. This output was 27,000,000 bushels more than the combined yield of the two states ranking next highest that year, nearly one-fifth of the total wheat output of the United States, 15,000,000 bushels in excess of the entire wheat crop of Canada, and 23% greater than any state had heretofore produced in a single season.³ The colonizing efforts of the Santa Fe railroad were not in vain.

Now to conclude the general activities of the Land Department. In 1876 a fine agricultural exhibit composed of products from the new farms lying within the Company's land grant was displayed at the Centennial Exposition. This exhibit, which was strikingly arranged, proved one of the features of the Exposition. It was viewed by thousands of persons and described in many newspapers, which again gave the railroad and its land infinite advertising and stimulated land-buying. Whereas land sales had dropped to 75,415

³J. C. Mohler, Sec'y Kansas State Board of Agriculture, to the writer, March 2d, 1915:

"The Mennonite immigrants from Southern Russia near the Black Sea brought this Red Turkey wheat to Kansas and from that small beginning has developed one of the most important wheat growing regions in the world. This is the wheat that Kansas is famous for, and it is rated at the head of the breadstuff supplies."

Ibid.

In May, 1919, the Kansas wheat prospects indicate a yield of about 200,000,000 bushels, to be worth probably \$450,000,000.



FIRST ROUNDHOUSE BUILT ON THE SANTA FE, TOPEKA

acres in 1875, in 1876 they rose nearly 60% to 122,201 acres. In 1877 the Land Commissioner reported that about 900,000 acres of the government lands alternating with those of the Company had been taken up by actual settlers, thus locating over 8,000 new families along the line. During the Autumn of 1877, a total of 246,917 acres were sown to wheat in the nine leading counties of the land grant along the Arkansas Valley; for the preceding year the wheat acreage was but 168,345. In 1878, Company sales reached a total of 267,282.47 acres amounting to \$1,207,615.64. That same year 1,282,046 acres of government lands, and about 75,000 acres of school lands, all tributary to the railroad, were taken up by settlers. Thus a total of 1,624,328 acres in the Arkansas Valley, making about 100,000 new farms, were occupied with an estimated farming population of at least 50,000 in a single year. No matter who sold the lands, this assured prosperity for the railroad; for it meant the development of the country and the subsequent creation of traffic, without which no railroad can exist.

By the close of 1880 a total of 1,016,431 acres of the Company lands had been actually sold.⁴ So far, all land-buying had been east of Dodge City, the lands west of that town not having been appraised. This was natural, as the dependable rain belt of Kansas along the Santa Fe lines extends only about to Ford County. West of Dodge City the rainfall is very uncertain and farming is conducted with any probability of success only in the river valleys where irrigation is possible. Col. Johnson now instructed D. N. Hizer, one of his staff, to appraise the lands west of Dodge. To do this, Hizer had to ride over three thousand miles on horseback writing for the Land Department records, a

⁴This means net sales, after making allowance for cancellations due to sales that fell through.

description of every section that remained in the grant. This was accomplished between April and December of 1881. Thus, opened for sale, these valley lands found ready purchasers. Men with considerable wealth became interested in the irrigation possibilities; a series of ditches were constructed, after which the town of Garden City was laid out and grew rapidly. To-day this region is famed for the production of sugar beets, the industry having been extended some one hundred and fifty miles along the Arkansas in Western Kansas and Eastern Colorado.

Immigration was again checked by a drouth in 1881. Land sales fell that year to about 50,000 acres. But fairly good crops were raised, and marketed at good prices, so the settlers did not become discouraged. Normal prosperity returned the following spring. Sales for 1882 were 189,831 acres; in 1883 they jumped to 431,755 acres; a year later they were 353,090 and in 1885 the company land sales reached the unprecedented total of 770,494 acres. In 1886 they fell to 347,322 acres and this virtually exhausted the land grant. In 1887 there were no land sales and the year following only 5,436 acres. Henceforth the activities of the Land Department were devoted chiefly to the re-selling of canceled contracts,⁵ and to the collection of deferred payments on lands already sold, of which over \$815,000 principal and interest remained unpaid at the end of 1887. That same year the plotting of townsites and the disposal of city property in various towns through which the lines were being extended were assigned to the Department; but such duties were but incidental to the expansion of the road and are of no particular concern here. Active colonizing had practically ceased in 1886.

⁵ That is, lands where the original buyer had failed to carry through his purchasing agreement.

Col. Johnson resigned as Land Commissioner in 1890 and was succeeded on June 1st of that year by John E. Frost. The latter had entered the service as local sales agent in Galesburg, Illinois, in 1872, and because of his remarkable success in selling and colonizing Company lands had been made a General Agent in 1879 and Chief Clerk of the Department in 1883. Under Mr. Frost the old accounts of the Departments were liquidated, the various collateral town properties mentioned above were disposed of, and the odds and ends of the land grant were, so far as possible, sold. Finally, on the 1st of September, 1898, Mr. Frost bought the few remnants of lands that remained, resigned his office, and on that date the old Santa Fe Railroad Land Department, its work now completed, was formally abolished.

During Mr. Frost's connection with the Land Department, from 1872 to 1898, its cash receipts from all sources were about \$14,000,000; sales from other properties which it handled were approximately \$2,000,000 more. Selling the original land grant of some 3,000,000 acres actually involved the sale of 4,000,000 acres, because the frequent cancellation of land contracts made re-selling necessary. Disposing of the land grant was done at great expense. It cost heavily to carry on the big advertising campaigns and to haul thousands of passengers and their belongings free, as was often done. The expense of keeping immigration agents in Europe and of bringing thousands of Mennonites free of charge from Europe to Kansas was enormous. There are probably no figures in existence to show the actual net profit which the Company made from its lands. One of the directors of long service, a scholarly gentleman of great business ability, who has been intimate with the affairs of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Company for a generation, has estimated that the Company probably cleared about one

dollar an acre in selling this land, which, if correct, would have made a profit of from three to four million dollars. But this sum in no sense measures the importance of the land grant to the Company. In the first place the lands furnished credit when credit was sorely needed for early development; and their sale extending over a period of years brought in much needed income when revenues were not large. Yet the real significance lay in the efforts of the Company to get settlers. It will never be possible to say how many thousands of people located in Kansas as a direct or indirect result of the railroad's efforts. The complex character of the land grant itself, the frequent cancellation of sales, and the shifting of population forbid a safe estimate. But the absolute conclusion remains that in colonizing the prairies, great results were accomplished. The railroad not only builded well its own future; it contributed to the sound national development of this country.

In order to complete our discussion of the land grant and so avoid later confusion, this narrative has extended somewhat in advance of the main story. We now turn once more to the expansion of the railroad and the conflicts which it involved.

CHAPTER VI

INTO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

Near the close of the year the Board elected W. B. Strong, Esq., of Chicago, Vice-President and General Manager of the road. He brings to your road rare abilities and large experience which cannot fail to be of great benefit to the Company.

In accordance with the design of the original projectors of your road the Directors have matured a plan to extend your line into New Mexico, to the vicinity of Santa Fe, in the year 1878, and they trust this movement will be approved and supported by the stockholders of the road.

THE above statements are taken from the annual report of the Santa Fe Directors for the year 1877. The road then aggregated 786 miles, including a main line 618 miles in length and 168 miles of branches. When William B. Strong, as President, left the Santa Fe Company in September of 1889, less than twelve years later, the Santa Fe road had become a transcontinental system over 7,000 miles in extent, with terminals at Chicago, San Diego, Los Angeles, Denver, Galveston, El Paso, and Guaymas, Mexico. The intense activities that were to characterize the history of the Santa Fe during the next twelve years center largely about two great personalities, William B. Strong and Albert A. Robinson, the men who made Cyrus Holliday's dreams a splendid reality. But before entering this period, which is one of the most significant and romantic in the history of American railways, we must note briefly the growth which the road had made since the dash across western Kansas, the

winning of the land grant, and the successful beginnings of colonization in the early Seventies.

Because of the great panic, the Santa Fe in common with most railroads attempted but little construction in 1873; only the twelve mile extension of the main line from Kansas boundary to Granada, Colorado, opened for traffic on May 10th, was completed that year. This work, it will be recalled, had been done under the name of the Colorado and New Mexico Railroad. Further delay was first occasioned by the natural reaction which followed the panic by the slow return of normal business conditions, and again by the serious local depression due to the grasshoppers and drouth in Kansas in 1874. As was mentioned in the last chapter, however, this delay proved but temporary and thanks to the activities of the Land Department and the good crops of 1875 confidence in the Santa Fe railway project was soon firmly established.

As early as 1874 the directors wisely purposed to build far into Colorado. There were good reasons for this plan. At Cañon City, due west, and at Trinidad, west and south, from Granada, were large coal deposits of a quality superior to any in Kansas. This coal alone, it was believed, would furnish a large eastbound tonnage. There was much timber in Colorado which could be shipped into Kansas where lumber was badly needed and which region hitherto had been supplied chiefly with Michigan pine. The ranches of Colorado would ship a large and increasing volume of freight, in cattle, sheep, hides and wool, over the new line. Colorado was already famed for its precious metals, which mining industry was bound to develop fast with improved means of transportation. This meant a heavy traffic in ores, not to mention a growing demand for machinery, chemicals, and other mining supplies that would have to be shipped by rail

from cities east of the Missouri River. Again, the scenery and climate of the Rocky Mountains were beginning to attract tourists. With convenient railroad facilities here was a chance to develop a profitable passenger traffic. And finally, Colorado, with her ranches, mines and tourists, must have the ordinary commodities of life—foodstuffs, dry goods, furniture, hardware, etc., all of which must be brought from distant markets. The state was large, and as yet reached from the East by only one railroad. For the Santa Fe, the gateway to the interior of Colorado was Pueblo, where connection would be made with the Denver and Rio Grande, a narrow gauge local road for Denver. A line across southwestern Colorado—following the Santa Fe trail—to Trinidad would approach the New Mexico boundary where much of the overland wagon traffic would be secured. All in all, building into Colorado offered limitless traffic which it is the business of railroads to secure. The first objective point in this direction, therefore, was Pueblo, one hundred and thirty-three miles west of Granada.

Expansion began both west and east in 1875. To build the road to Pueblo a new corporation, the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley Railroad Company, was incorporated March 24, 1875, by a group of Boston capitalists who were also the chief owners of the Santa Fe road. On October 1st the new corporation absorbed the Colorado and New Mexico Company with all its charter privileges under which the preliminary Colorado extension had been constructed. Then, on the same date, the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley was leased unconditionally to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe for a term of thirty years, thus giving the Atchison¹ Company an effective corporate instrument with which

¹In Eastern financial circles the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad is usually referred to as "The Atchison." In the West it is the

to prosecute its building plans in Colorado. Construction having commenced promptly, the road was completed and ready for operation to Las Animas, fifty miles beyond Granada, on September 13th.

Meanwhile a new and important terminal was being secured on the Missouri River. After the Civil War, Kansas City, due to the enterprise of her citizens, had begun to outstrip her rival neighboring towns.² As a rapidly growing commercial city it had become the terminus of practically all the important railroads in that section, and by the early Seventies it promised eventually to rival St. Louis as a railroad and commercial center. Furthermore, in 1875, Kansas City had overshadowed Atchison, then the Santa Fe's Missouri River terminus, and was fast becoming the greatest cattle and grain market of the Southwest, which supremacy has long since been established. Since grain and cattle then comprised the bulk of the Santa Fe's eastbound traffic, and since Kansas City was only sixty-seven miles east of Topeka, it was soon found necessary to secure direct terminal facilities with this rising metropolis. Getting into Kansas City was of two-fold importance to the Company. By providing superior market facilities near at hand for livestock and grain, the production of these staples along the line of the Santa Fe would be stimulated, which would encourage land sales and settlement; and which finally would add to the general prosperity of the road. Again, because of the Eastern roads now focusing at Kansas City, much westbound traffic, both freight and passenger, would be gained there. Access to Kansas City was secured on October 1st,

"Santa Fe." This book uses the words promiscuously although in discussing the financial affairs of the road "Atchison" will be more commonly used as is the custom.

² Independence, Westport, Leavenworth, Atchison and St. Joseph.

1875, when the Santa Fe Company leased the Kansas City, Topeka and Western, a local road that had already been constructed between Topeka and Kansas City. Terminal facilities were secured by a joint arrangement with the Kansas City and St. Joseph, and the Burlington roads, thus making complete a strategic and extremely valuable extension that was to be the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe for more than ten years.

Extension westward had gone on steadily; the line was completed to Pueblo and placed in regular operation March 1, 1876. Thus a main line had been gained with two terminals on the Missouri river and extending westward to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Because of adverse business conditions in 1873-1874 and because of the natural conservatism of the Boston financiers who were directing the policies of the Company, the road had been developing slowly and cautiously. A great flood in southeastern Colorado in 1875 had washed out considerable portions of the new line, making its construction unusually expensive. Thus it was decided to retrench, and for the next two years, aside from routine operation, little was done except to improve the physical condition of the railroad property.

The years 1875-1876, aside from the extensions already described, were largely concerned with outlays for improvement of tracks and road-bed, and right-of-way, for the erection of station buildings and fences, and the increase and betterment of locomotives and rolling stock. During the first half of 1877 the line again suffered serious damage from high water due to abnormal rains, and in repairing these losses—inflicted upon embankments, cuts, bridges and road-bed in general—the officials were led to make renewed efforts and consequently large expenditures to improve the line still more. Old iron rails were replaced here and there with steel.

Thousands of new ties were laid, a considerable amount of track was ballasted with crushed rock and by the close of that year the line was declared to be in as good repair as at any previous time. A total of more than \$340,000, a large sum for a new and struggling road, had been spent for the purpose.

The extensions to Pueblo and Kansas City, which had been made with so much caution, had at once proved successful, for they increased the traffic of the Company to a profitable extent. Net earnings for 1876 were nearly \$1,200,000, exceeding the estimate for that year by more than \$175,000. The net earnings for 1875 had been only a little over \$750,000. For 1877 they rose, in spite of flood losses, to \$1,219,000. While land sales and the development of company lands had perhaps been chiefly responsible for this prosperity, the extension of the line to Kansas City and Pueblo had contributed much to net earnings. In 1875 it was announced that 6,000 tourists were visiting the Colorado Rockies annually and the increase of traffic due to the opening of Southern Colorado was all that could be expected. In other words, the progress of the road had proved conclusively that expansion brought more traffic and that to grow meant to prosper. The careful management of the road evidently were not insensible of this situation, for they projected a line from Florence, Kansas, down the Walnut Valley to the south border of the state, and this road was built and put into operation as far as El Dorado, 31 miles, about July, 1877. In building this branch, however, the directors were probably impelled more by the demands of settlers who were buying lands in this vicinity than from a desire to expand. Apparently there was no desire on the part of the capitalists who now controlled the policies of the road to make the Santa Fe a great railroad; it appears from a careful study of the

Company's reports that down to 1877 the chief purpose was to develop a first class railroad between the Missouri and the Rockies; to exploit thoroughly the lands and other natural resources touched by the lines thus constructed, and to round out an efficient and profitable transportation property whose interests would be purely local. So recently as 1874, when construction of the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley was about to commence, the directors announced that, "At Pueblo we shall connect with the Denver and Rio Grande narrow gauge railroad running northward to Denver, westward to Cañon City and southward ultimately to Santa Fe and the City of Mexico." In short, the policy of the Santa Fe railroad management during this period was very conservative—a policy dictated in part, no doubt, by a stringent money market. While it was finding that its own business grew by leaps and bounds as a result of extended mileage, it had up to this time evidently intended to rely for more remote western connections, such as Denver and Santa Fe, upon the growth of a purely local but ambitious narrow gauge line that as yet began and ended in Colorado. But the Denver and Rio Grande was an aggressive company. Should it gain prior control of certain strategic mountain passes over which any railway seeking to penetrate the Rockies in this region must go, the Santa Fe might be effectually blocked and forever remain a local railroad some few hundred miles in extent. If the Santa Fe ever were to achieve greatness a master hand was now needed in the absolute direction of its affairs. Such was the situation when, after nearly two years of cautious procedure, the directors elected Mr. Strong general manager, and "matured a plan for extending the line to the vicinity of Santa Fe," New Mexico. Thus the scene was cleared for one of the greatest railroad leaders this country has produced.

William B. Strong³ was a remarkable man who contributed much to the upbuilding of the entire Southwest, for he brought into actual existence a transcontinental railroad system, and with it an industrial empire. He made Cyrus Holliday's dreams a reality. Strong's extraordinary achievements were in part made possible by his own great ambitions, his fighting determination and his powerful leadership; his achievements were realized through the superb coöperation and engineering genius of Albert A. Robinson.

On November 1, 1877, Strong began service with the Santa

*Before coming to the Santa Fe Strong's career though successful had not been startling. He was born in Brownington, Vermont, on May 16, 1837, of New England parentage, which stock has given to the Santa Fe some of its ablest men. While he was very young his parents moved to Beloit, Wisconsin, where he grew up. His education was completed in the public schools of Beloit and in a Chicago Business College from which he was graduated in 1855. His schooling ended at eighteen, young Strong decided at once to go into railroading in which business he was destined within thirty years to transform the transportation map of the United States.

Strong began railroad work on March 22, 1855, as a station agent and telegraph operator at Milton, Wisconsin. Subsequently for the next ten years he served as station agent at Whitewater, and Monroe, Wisconsin, and finally as general agent of the Southwestern Division of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway with headquarters in Janesville. In 1865-1867 he was assistant superintendent of the McGregor Western Railway at McGregor, Iowa. From 1867 to 1870 he was general western agent of the Chicago and Northwestern line with headquarters in Council Bluffs.

In 1870-72 Mr. Strong served as assistant general superintendent of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy at Burlington, Iowa. From 1872 to 1874 he was stationed in Chicago as superintendent of the consolidated Burlington and Missouri and the C. B. & Q. lines. In 1874-1875 he was general superintendent of the Michigan Central, with offices still in Chicago. In 1875 he returned to the Burlington as general superintendent of that important system, which position he held two years until he became general manager of the Santa Fe.

Fe as general manager, and a few weeks later, on December 17, he was also elected vice president. On July 12, 1881, he was chosen president and a director of the Santa Fe with headquarters in Boston. His presidency lasted a little over eight years.

A natural leader and a hard fighter, Mr. Strong found chances enough to exercise his talents in the service of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. Almost immediately he plunged into the work of extending the road in Colorado and into New Mexico. This was a huge enterprise, for it meant building through the mountains, and it was to involve sharp clashes with rival forces, but Strong loved opposition for the sake of overpowering it, and the strength of his leadership soon was felt. His first important act was to go to Santa Fe, New Mexico, at the request of President Nickerson, to secure territorial legislation specially authorizing the construction of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe main line south from La Junta, Colorado, and through New Mexico, with a possible view some day of extending the line still farther westward, perhaps to the Pacific Coast. New Mexico already had a law providing in a general way for the incorporation and construction of railways, but it was hoped that special legislative aid might be secured to aid the plan. While much traffic would certainly be had from building into New Mexico, the territory was still sparsely settled and it seemed to offer no immediate revenues commensurate with the expense of building over the Rockies to get into the territory. Besides, much mountainous country and consequent expense would be encountered in building across New Mexico.

Governor Pitkin of Colorado, Colonel Nutt, who later became president of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad, and Miguel Otero, a prominent New Mexican, accompanied Mr.

Strong to the capital. On their arrival they found that through the alleged influence of the Southern Pacific a bill called the California Act had just been passed by the territorial legislature. This law required among other things that at least ten per cent. of the estimated cost of building any proposed line should be raised and the money paid into the treasury of the intended corporation before operations could begin. Such an obstructive measure was well calculated to thwart any immediate steps that the Santa Fe management with their limited resources were likely to take in New Mexico, since it would be well-nigh impossible to raise money to build a railroad through a sparsely settled territory with such a law in force; but the new general manager was not to be so easily brushed aside. Obviously the act in question had been lobbied through the legislature. Strong and his friends therefore began to lobby for its amendment or repeal. This was a difficult proposition, as the New Mexicans, in spite of the backward condition of their territory, seem to have disliked the idea of a railroad entering their territory from the north and east; they were jealous and fearful of a "Yankee invasion." Their sentiment was probably expressed in a remark which the president of the Senate, a native New Mexican, is said to have made to Mr. Otero, likewise a New Mexican but a progressive, who accompanied Mr. Strong's party: "We don't want you damned Yankees in the country. We can't compete with you; you will drive us all out, and we shall have no home left us. We won't have you here."

It was soon found that the so-called California Act of 1878 had not yet gone into effect nor had it repealed the General Incorporation Act of 1868—amended in 1876—which authorized railroads to incorporate without undue restrictions. Under the provisions of the older law Strong

and his men incorporated the New Mexico and Southern Pacific Railroad Company under which charter the Santa Fe was to build and for a time operate its road in New Mexico. It is said that these incorporators were also instrumental in securing the passage of "An Act explanatory of an Act providing for the incorporation of railroad companies in this Territory," an innocent-looking statute consisting of but two sections which exempted from taxation for six years all portions of the railroads named in articles of incorporation, with a further provision that under this law no railroad could be exempt from taxation longer than twelve years from the date of its beginning. Another supplementary law, likewise very brief, extended all the powers, privileges and exemptions thus legalized to any railroads incorporated in New Mexico. All legislative opposition to building through the Territory was thus evaded through the efficient efforts of Wm. B. Strong and his friends.

Returning to Pueblo Mr. Strong found President Nickerson whose conservatism now presented a new obstacle to the manager's ambitions. The president was willing enough to secure the right to build southward but a very cautious man, he was disappointed because Strong had not secured a subsidy from the legislature. He felt, perhaps with reason, that the traffic to be gained from building into New Mexico would not justify the outlay—at least not for some time. The transportation business of New Mexico consisted mainly of bringing in and distributing of merchandise to the various mining camps, towns and ranches. No reliable figures are obtainable as to the precise amount of this business. In 1876 the wagon trade to old Santa Fe amounted to over \$2,000,000. Large quantities of freight were hauled through the Territory to Old Mexico, and until the Southern Pacific railroad was built to California, considerable amounts of

hides, wool and precious metals were sent out of New Mexico perhaps to the amount of one million dollars a year, but all this business, as much as it had fired the brain of Colonel Holliday, meant only a few hundred cars of freight each year. It is a singular fact that the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, in common with our Western railroads, prospered and became powerful by building straight into undeveloped or thinly settled country hundreds of miles from the centers of population and civilization. They prospered by developing the country through which they passed, thus creating their own business, and by establishing through transportation routes to the Pacific Coast over which much traffic necessarily had to pass. It took courage to drive the Santa Fe road over the Rocky Mountains and perhaps Mr. Nickerson, the good and prudent Bostonian, need not be blamed for counseling delay.

But Strong was always for immediate action and he generally got what he wanted. His fondness for action had a lot to do with the phenomenal growth of the Santa Fe during those years. After much haggling Strong got Nickerson's permission to go ahead "in the spring" with some preliminary surveys through Southern Colorado and over Raton Pass into New Mexico. Only a nominal sum, not more than \$20,000, would be allowed for this work. This was all the manager wanted, for with a sufficient leeway as a beginning, he at once started a series of operations that even the president failed to stop. All these events took place in February, 1878; the interview between Strong and Nickerson had been held on the 26th. As soon as he had been authorized to begin work "in the spring," Strong went, without a moment's delay, to Chief Engineer A. A. Robinson, who likewise happened to be in Pueblo, and ordered him to proceed at once to Raton Pass, to occupy the Pass and hold it.



CALIFORNIA LIMITED NEAR CAJON PASS, CALIFORNIA

A short digression here is necessary to explain why Strong was so anxious to get control of the Pass. This defile then offered the only practicable means of getting a railroad into northern New Mexico. Situated on the border between Colorado and New Mexico its north entrance just sixteen miles below Trinidad, it lay directly on the Santa Fe trail, the logical route of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad. Raton Pass enabled the Santa Fe traders to cross the Rockies at an altitude of about 8,000 feet. It was, in short, the gateway to Northern New Mexico and had for years been a famous toll road along the Santa Fe trail.

Reference has been made to the Denver and Rio Grande railroad. This rival company, organized some years before, was projected 850 miles, from Denver, Colorado, to El Paso, Texas. By June, 1872, the road, a narrow-gauge line, had been constructed 118 miles between Denver and Pueblo. In October of that year it opened a branch from Pueblo to the Cañon Coal Mines, 37 miles west. It was this branch that delivered to the Santa Fe goodly amounts of coal for shipment eastward when the latter road afterwards reached Pueblo. Although its construction was retarded by the bad times incident to the panic of 1873, the "little road," as the Denver and Rio Grande came to be called, had of late been steadily expanding under the strong leadership of General Wm. J. Palmer, a very capable man who embodied many of Mr. Strong's characteristics.

Building south from Pueblo the Rio Grande⁴ had, by means of bold engineering, twisted its way through the mountains of southern Colorado and down into the San Luis Valley. In 1876 it was opened to El Moro near Trinidad.

⁴To avoid tiresome monotony in this narrative, reference will be made to the Denver & Rio Grande as the "little road," the "Rio Grande" and the "D. & R. G."

It then pushed west from Cuchara into South Central Colorado, reaching Fort Garland in 1877 and Alamosa by June, 1878. Although a local affair, still confined wholly to Colorado, the Denver and Rio Grande was prosperous and aggressive. It had large ambitions, and it resented the intrusion of its larger rival, the Santa Fe, which had been advancing steadily into the Rocky Mountain country. After the latter had reached Pueblo the two companies soon became sharp rivals. The "little road," though doing a good business, had by the spring of 1878 strained its finances in costly extension work through the mountains. By May of that year it was having trouble to meet the interest on its bonded indebtedness. This stringency was intensified by a falling off in traffic, much of which the Santa Fe was getting at Pueblo—which did not conduce to good feelings. Likewise, the Denver and Rio Grande feared that the Santa Fe would radiate lines from Pueblo into its most profitable territory in the interior of Colorado, such as the South Park, the Upper Arkansas and San Juan districts, and Denver. And finally it might be feared that the Santa Fe would tap northern New Mexico via Trinidad and rob the Rio Grande of any prospective traffic she was likely to get through the development of that territory. Having built through El Moro to La Veta in southern Colorado, the narrow gauge therefore felt the necessity of crossing the state line into New Mexico, where it would for a time at least be safe from outside competition. During this same month of May its finances were patched up by General Palmer, and the company was ready for an encounter with the Santa Fe.

Once over Raton Pass, the very momentum which must be expended in crossing the mountains was bound to carry the first railroad to pass the divide down the easy stretches of northern New Mexico and over the Glorietas to Santa Fe

or Albuquerque. Having gained either of these points, the railroad was quite likely to be lured on to Old Mexico or the Pacific.

Strong saw this situation, and he had the resolution to over-ride the timidity of his official superior and act at once. Had it not been for the invincible determination of Strong and the intelligent coöperation of Robinson it is quite possible that the Denver and Rio Grande and not the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe would have first crossed New Mexico, and become a great system. As it was, the Santa Fe crossed the divide, gained the coast and became a transcontinental railroad while the Rio Grande still is confined to three states. Small wonder then, that on February 26, 1878, Strong ordered Robinson in haste to Raton Pass, and to seize and hold the Pass against all opposition.

Palmer was on the alert and not to be outdone if he could prevent it. He appears to have shadowed the Santa Fe plans, and, late in February, he also made ready a force of men and teams and placed them in Raton Pass. It so happened that Mr. Robinson of the Santa Fe, and Chief Engineer McMurtrie, of the Rio Grande, field leaders of the rival forces, traveled together on the same Denver and Rio Grande train from Pueblo to El Moro, the nearest railroad point to the scene of operations. Arriving at El Moro that evening Mr. McMurtrie went to bed while Engineer Robinson hurried overland to the home of "Dick" Wootton, near the north slope of the mountain, a famous old scout, who operated a toll road over the Pass. This was to be near the scene and ready for any emergency. About 11 o'clock that night Robinson was informed by a special messenger from Trinidad that the Denver and Rio Grande people had organized a force of graders and were moving across the country back of Trinidad to the Pass. There was no time to lose. Hurrying

with all speed to Trinidad, Robinson, accompanied by a staff engineer, Wm. Morley, got together a crowd of men with shovels and returning had detailed this party at several strategic points through the Pass and were busily grading for the Santa Fe railroad by 5:00 A. M. One of the workers was sturdy old "Dick" Wootton, who began shoveling by lantern light near what now is the north approach to Raton tunnel. Not long after daybreak the Denver and Rio Grande forces arrived only to find their rivals in complete possession of Raton Pass—a defile that held the destinies of a great railroad. Some loud and bitter words were exchanged, but the Santa Fe men, though threatened, declared they had first possession and would fight to retain their ground if necessary. After much blustering, their opponents withdrew and setting up camp nearby began locating a rival line over the mountain, following a stream known as Chicken Creek. But this route soon proved wholly impracticable and within a few weeks, on April 18th, the Rio Grande people withdrew and went north to Cañon City, leaving the Santa Fe graders in undisturbed possession. Building the Santa Fe southward was now to proceed steadily.

Mr. Strong's forces were doubtless able to forestall their opposition because of the hearty support given by the people of Trinidad and vicinity. Trinidad was angry at the narrow gauge company because the latter had passed them by in constructing its line and had built the rival town of El Moro. No deadlier insult could have been offered to an ambitious western village, and it is not therefore surprising that Trinidad worked loyally for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. Thus far there had been no actual conflict—only some energetic forestalling and a war of words. The scene now shifts to the struggle for another strategic pass, the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas in South Central Colorado,

which struggle was to last nearly two years, creating a situation unparalleled in the annals of American railroads.

About forty-three miles west of Pueblo in Fremont County, Colorado, the Arkansas River emerges from the mountains through a great fissure about fifty miles in length, commonly known as the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas⁵ or the Royal Gorge. In reality, however, the Royal Gorge is only a sharp constriction of three or four miles where the Cañon walls come very close together and rise with scenic grandeur nearly three thousand feet above the river. Because of the narrowness of this Gorge but very little room is left between the stream and the rocky walls, so little in fact, that in places a single-track railroad was constructed with difficulty. Building two lines through the Gorge was out of the question; building two roads through the entire cañon was not practicable. Whereas the Raton Pass was the natural gateway to northern New Mexico, the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas led through the Rockies to the interior of Colorado. Now Fremont County and Cañon City, its county seat, greatly needed more railroads—in fact the development of this locality had been much retarded through lack of good transportation facilities. In the year 1867 a committee of Fremont County citizens had tried to induce the Kansas Pacific Company, then building across Western Kansas, to extend their line through South Central Colorado. General W. G. Palmer, afterwards of Denver and Rio Grande fame, was then managing director of the Kansas Pacific, and with W. H. Greenwood, chief engineer, had charge of construction. In compliance with the requests

⁵Not to be confused with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado in north-western Arizona, an incomparably greater chasm over two hundred miles in length, some thirteen miles in width, and a mile deep—one of the world's scenic wonders.

of Fremont County citizens, Palmer then organized and directed an expedition that surveyed a line which in 1868 Palmer advocated. The route thus recommended ran southwestward from Ellsworth, Kansas, through the cañon to the headquarters of the Arkansas and thence through the San Luis Valley to the 35th parallel and beyond to the coast. Had the Kansas Pacific followed this line it would instantly have tapped some of the richest portions of Colorado. But the Eastern managers of the Kansas Pacific finally decided to build to Denver, which was done, and as a result that road never became a factor in southern Colorado.

After the Kansas Pacific had finally been diverted to Denver, Palmer seems to have conceived building the narrow gauge Denver and Rio Grande from Denver southward along the foot of the mountains. Chagrined in not having secured an eastern outlet through the Kansas Pacific, Fremont County gladly voted \$50,000 in county bonds⁶ to aid the narrow gauge road. Meanwhile, as already stated, the Rio Grande had reached Pueblo whence by October, 1872, it had built its spur to Labran in the Cañon coal fields eight miles from Cañon City. Then without stopping to extend its tracks to this county seat, it had hurried southward to reach some good deposits of coking coal near El Moro. Almost in despair the people of Fremont County then held a public meeting at Cañon City, in January, 1873, and formally invited the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe to construct a line into their locality, along the route proposed by the Kansas Pacific. But the Santa Fe, as we have seen, was virtually at a standstill in 1873-1874. So the County again voted bonds to the Denver and Rio Grande, this time \$100,000; but the bond election carried by a majority of

⁶ They were subsequently lost to the railroad through a technicality in court procedure.

only two votes, so that the County Commissioners refused to issue the bonds. Finally, in 1874, an issue of \$50,000 in bonds was carried, which was supplemented by a gift of \$25,000 worth of property in Cañon City, and that year the long-sought narrow gauge railroad reached the county-seat.

Vexed with all this delay which had only brought "half a loaf," the Cañon City people then made an effort to secure a road of their own. In 1876, silver had been found in profitable quantities near the source of the Arkansas at the present site of Leadville and this evidently prompted Fremont County to seek a western outlet. To that end a railroad company, the Cañon City and San Juan, was organized to all appearances by local citizens in February, 1877, and projected westward through the Cañon. Meanwhile the silver deposits began to attract more and more attention. In July, 1877, Leadville, the noted "City of the Clouds," was started. By the close of the year it was a village of 300 miners and prospectors and in January, 1878, the town was organized. By this time reports of the rich mineral deposits had been noised about and in the early spring of 1878 there began the famous "Leadville boom," which lasted two years. People flocked by the thousands to Leadville where fabulous wealth in rich silver and lead ores was to be found. This turbulent mining camp with its increasing numbers and keen demand for supplies of all descriptions made necessary a railroad through the mountains; almost as if by magic a great traffic prize had sprung up in the interior. The prize was Leadville, and both the Rio Grande and Santa Fe railroads decided to build extensions to the new town. But Leadville could be reached only through the Royal Gorge through which but one railroad could pass, hence the struggle that followed.

Both companies had already made surveys through this region, and the Denver and Rio Grande claimed it had secured a right-of-way by Acts of Congress passed in 1872 and 1875. But it had made no effort to utilize such rights and the issue straightway became a contest for supremacy in the Cañon. The Rio Grande had some advantage because of its branch line from Pueblo, which, extending almost to the mouth of the Cañon, would enable it to transport men and building materials directly to the scene of action. The Santa Fe on the other hand had no line nearer than Pueblo, about forty miles from the Cañon, but it had William B. Strong, and some exceedingly good lieutenants; it was stronger financially, and it stood in better favor with the local population. The tactless policy hitherto followed by the D. & R. G. of avoiding established places and building new towns had cost it many friends.

In April, Mr. Strong decided to show his hand. But the Denver and Rio Grande officials having possession of the telegraph lines were again able to ascertain Strong's plans by deciphering his code dispatches. Determined not to be forestalled this time the Rio Grande management resolved to assemble a force at Pueblo, proceed over their own line to Cañon City and then by a quick advance occupy the entrance to the Cañon before Strong could get an equal force together. One hundred men were made ready and it was planned to leave Pueblo on the morning of April 20th. News of this scheme reached Mr. Strong on the 19th at El Moro, where he seems to have been watching construction work. He tried to get a special train over the Denver and Rio Grande, which led directly north to Pueblo, but was of course refused. To reach Pueblo over his own lines he must first travel overland 77 miles northeast to La Junta, and then 64 miles north and west. Delay meant defeat and

Strong could not risk delay. It happened that one of his engineers, Wm. R. Morley, was at La Junta, and to him Strong sent a telegram with instructions to hurry to Pueblo as soon as possible and then by all means beat the Rio Grande crowd to the Cañon.

Morley instantly divined the situation and procuring a locomotive was rushed to Pueblo where he arrived at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 20th. Like his general manager at El Moro, he sought a special locomotive over the narrow gauge, but without avail. It was nearly forty miles to Cañon City. Once there, Morley knew he could easily gather a force, for the town favored his Company. Within a few hours his rivals would start in a special train. Were he to smuggle himself into the Rio Grande crowd, he would probably suffer violence and accomplish nothing, for he would have no time after arriving to marshal a force to oppose their advance. He must get there first. He had a start of several hours; the narrow gauge line was new, rough, and crooked, the engine was small, the schedule was slow. He would beat them yet. Morley at once procured a good horse and started at full gallop. It was a race of flesh and blood against a railroad, and a desperate ride. Urging the animal to the limit of its endurance Morley had arrived almost within sight of Cañon City when the animal fell dead from exhaustion. Leaping to his feet the rider ran the rest of the way alone and safely reached the offices of the Cañon City and San Juan Company before the train of Rio Grande laborers arrived. The friendship of Cañon City for the Santa Fe railroad was instantly proven. A force of townspeople with shovels and firearms quickly assembled and hurried two miles to the entrance of the Cañon where they were found in grim possession by the D. & R. G. party a half hour later.

The night before, the board of directors of the Cañon and San Juan Railroad Company had met and elected W. B. Strong and A. A. Robinson, general manager and chief engineer respectively of the Santa Fe, to similar positions in the Cañon City Company. At about the same time the Atchison directors in Boston decided to extend the "Pueblo and Arkansas Valley Railroad" from Pueblo to Leadville and the San Juan mining district. That same year it was planned to build fifty-seven miles from Cañon City through the Grand Cañon to the South Arkansas. The work was to be accomplished at an estimated cost of \$750,000 and to raise this sum an issue of \$750,000 in first mortgage 7 per cent. gold bonds—limited to \$14,000 per mile of completed road—was offered to the A. T. & S. F. stockholders. The extension when built was to be placed under a 30-year lease to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe under terms and conditions similar to those by which the line from the Kansas boundary to Pueblo was held.

At the same time it was officially decided to build the New Mexico and Southern Pacific railroad from the north line of New Mexico at Raton Pass southward via Las Vegas to Albuquerque on the Rio Grande, 248 miles, at an estimated cost of \$2,621,000, which sum likewise would be raised through an issuance of first mortgage 7 per cent. gold bonds limited to \$15,000 per mile of completed road. The bonds were to be further secured by a lease of the property to the Atchison Company, which guaranteed a payment of 37 per cent. of the gross earnings of the new road and a rebate of 15 per cent. on all business delivered to and from said line at the southern boundary of Colorado. These securities were quickly sold, the money was thus ready, and the Santa Fe Company had definitely embarked on a policy of aggressive expansion.

Meanwhile the Santa Fe men, reinforced by outsiders, had barricaded themselves at the entrance to the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas. And the Denver and Rio Grande men, not to be thwarted in their desire to secure the Pass, gathered in the vicinity in ominously increasing numbers. There now followed the so-called Grand Cañon war, a battle of injunctions, a series of prolonged lawsuits, together with loud threats and occasional violence, with both sides confronting each other in armed camps—the first and unhappily not the last industrial conflict that has agitated Colorado.

CHAPTER VII

THE OPENING STRUGGLE FOR THE GRAND CAÑON

WHILE both sides continued to increase their forces, the scene quickly shifted, first to the State and then to Federal Courts. The Santa Fe carried on the struggle in the name of the Cañon City and San Juan Railroad Company, the subsidiary corporation whose franchise rights to build through the Cañon it had just secured; reference to either Company now meant one and the same thing. On April 20th, the Santa Fe obtained a writ of temporary injunction in the local court, restraining the Denver and Rio Grande people from further activities in the Cañon. For disregarding this court order, Chief Engineer J. A. McMurtrie and R. F. Weitbree, treasurer of the Rio Grande Company, with several other employees of lesser importance, were arrested and placed under bonds. Encouraged by this opening advantage the Santa Fe continued to occupy all strategic points in the defile with engineers and gangs of workmen. It advertised for 175,000 cross ties and planned to build through to Leadville immediately. At the same time attorneys on both sides were getting ready for a great legal battle of which the first restraining injunction was but a preliminary skirmish.

Excitement became intense. Having its own tracks from Pueblo to Cañon City the Denver and Rio Grande was able to ship in men and tools with far greater dispatch than its rival, which at the outset had to depend upon local support,

and such overland transportation service between the Cañon and its own tracks at Pueblo as it could devise. The Rio Grande people made good use of this advantage. They not only refused to haul any Santa Fe laborers, but since they controlled the telegraph wires at Cañon City, only censored messages not unfriendly to the Denver and Rio Grande Company were accepted for transmission. By the 21st, they had 250 men on the scene with 300 more expected soon.

Mr. Strong, however, was equal to this handicap. First he established a pony express line that made the forty-mile trip between the Cañon and Pueblo on a five-hour schedule. On April 21st, he is said to have had 300 men at the Cañon, of which number 100 had been secured from the camp of his rivals. The Rio Grande Company had hired them—men of a roustabout class—for one dollar per day. Strong won their services by paying them a dollar and a half and board. Both companies built big boarding houses for their men, one mile apart. Finally, on or about the morning of April 22nd, Strong set 175 laborers at work grading a rival Santa Fe line between Pueblo and Cañon City. This branch it was purposed to build within thirty days, and it was further planned to reach Leadville before the end of the year. At the same time, Strong announced that a broad gauge line would be surveyed from Pueblo to Denver, which was carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's country. The Santa Fe manager was making good use of a temporary injunction. Attorneys for both companies having presented their arguments, Judge Henry of the State District Court, on April 26th, issued an injunction restraining the Santa Fe from further action in the Cañon. This brought all building activities to a temporary standstill, although the Santa Fe held firmly the strategic points it had occupied and prepared to build its main line south from Trinidad.

Late in April the case was presented to Judge Hallett in the United States Circuit Court at Denver; and on May 6th the opposing lawyers appeared before Hallett on a motion made by the Rio Grande to transfer to the Federal Court the injunction case that had originated in the State Court. Since the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe was a corporation doing interstate business this move was entirely legal. When first brought to Judge Hallett this application was denied on a technicality, but now the application was renewed by the Denver and Rio Grande people on the grounds that popular prejudice made it impossible to secure justice in Fremont County. This was a valid charge. The tactless policy of the Rio Grande management in avoiding established towns and building small places nearby¹ while extending their lines, had aroused the hostility of practically all the older towns in the Denver and Rio Grande territory. Cañon City, which was especially grieved at the narrow gauge road for so long ignoring it, was solidly for the Atchison Company and gave it all the encouragement and help possible.

There appeared before Judge Hallett, Attorneys Willard Teller, Gilbert B. Reed and Charles E. Gast for the Santa Fe; while Messrs. Wells, Smith, and Macon of Denver, and H. A. Risley of Colorado Springs, defended the D. & R. G. After listening to the arguments of both sides, in view of the complex situation involved, Judge Hallett decided to invite to his bench a colleague, Judge Dillon of St. Louis, with whom he would consider the case jointly before rendering a decision. At the same time Hallett issued an order forbidding either party to work in the disputed Cañon while the case was being considered. Neither side was to molest the other; an injunction was granted to the Denver and Rio

¹ It has been claimed that this was done for the privilege of speculating in new townsite property. The charge probably could not be proved.

Grande Company against the Santa Fe, and the injunction restraining the Rio Grande which the Santa Fe had secured in the State Court was allowed to stand. Both companies were to desist from further operations, to leave the ground in controversy unoccupied, and quietly await the law's decision. And to insure this return to quiet with normal conditions, Judge Hallett required each company to furnish a bond of \$20,000 with approved sureties as a pledge of good behavior. In full compliance with the Court's order, both parties seem to have withdrawn in good faith from the Cañon and its immediate vicinity. Both appear to have discharged their hastily collected "armies" of laborers, and men prepared if necessary to fight, and prospects for tranquillity looked good. Whereas the first stage of the struggle had ended with Morley and his followers in possession of the Cañon, the second division of the affair, closed by the preliminary court decree of about May the 8th, ended with neither side holding any apparent advantage and with a return to the existing order of things. But much bad feeling had been aroused and the turbulent forces thus assembled were not to be easily restrained.

On the night of May 7th, Governor Routt received a telegram from the sheriff of Fremont County asking for help to preserve peace, since the sheriff and his regular force were not able to enforce the orders of the court with respect to the lawless mobs thus turned loose. The Governor promptly advised the sheriff that the latter had full authority under the law to enlist every man in the county if necessary, in an effort to preserve order. The state would not put troops into the field unless as a very last resort and this emergency Routt thought was unlikely to occur. Nevertheless, the Governor arranged with the state's Adjutant General to be ready with militia on short notice; and Routt then warned

the counsel of the two disputing railroads that their troubles must under no circumstances become riotous; "And each party registered a vow in heaven that they would abide by this advice." Some minor violence occurred, but as a whole the fears of the local peace officer proved groundless. Each company met the situation in good faith and the month of May passed without serious outbreak.

On the first of June the Federal Judges, Dillon and Hallett, rendered a concurring opinion which in effect permitted the Cañon City and San Juan Company (the Santa Fe's subsidiary) to go on with its grading in the Cañon, but it was enjoined not to lay rails upon its grade. The injunction restraining the Denver and Rio Grande from further action was continued in force. This arrangement, however, was intended only as a makeshift to last until the facts of the case could be more thoroughly examined at the regular session of the United States Circuit Court which was to convene the following month.

July 9th the case was formally taken up in the Federal Court with Judge Dillon on the bench. The Rio Grande attorneys sought a perpetual injunction restraining the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe or its subsidiaries forever from building a railroad through the Cañon. The whole controversy was carefully reviewed in order that Judge Dillon might be made familiar with every aspect of the case. For the Rio Grande, Mr. Macon argued correctly that the Santa Fe and not the Cañon City and San Juan was committing acts of aggression. Whatever right the Cañon City Company might have had to the Cañon had been forfeited through its assent to the conduct of the Santa Fe in taking forcible possession of the Pass. The Santa Fe, Mr. Macon contended, had no corporate rights in Colorado and hence both it and its creature, the Cañon City and San Juan,



STAGE STATION AT CANONCITO, NEW MEXICO

should be restrained and the injunction against the Denver and Rio Grande removed; for the latter company had been given the only and exclusive right-of-way through the Cañon by a specific Act of Congress in 1872. In short, the Rio Grande Company really had no opponent in the case, since the Cañon City and San Juan was only a tool for the Santa Fe Company which Macon claimed had no rights in the state. The Santa Fe attorneys declined to reply to these arguments, preferring to submit their case strictly on its merits. After some days had been spent in examining witnesses and hearing testimony, in which Engineer McMurtrie of the D. & R. G. testified that he had made surveys in the Cañon as early as in 1871, the case was continued into August. Pending this outcome, the situation remained fairly quiet.

On the 23rd of August, Judge Hallett presiding, the United States Circuit Court for Colorado, announced its decision which gave the Cañon City and San Juan Company the prior right of building its line the twenty miles through the Cañon in accordance with the plat of its surveys which had been filed with the Receiver of the Federal Land Office at Pueblo on July 23, 1877, and afterwards approved by Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior. This, it is claimed, was merely a preliminary location which the Cañon City and San Juan had made a year before when there was no controversy, yet it had been done in conformity with law. The Denver and Rio Grande must in no way interfere with the Santa Fe's operations; it could build a line of its own through the Cañon, but such an enterprise was permissible only on the condition that it did not conflict with the Santa Fe's interests. The D. & R. G. was given the right to use the Santa Fe's tracks wherever the right-of-way was not wide enough for both railroads; any court could be invoked

to enforce this order. Through the Royal Gorge, which narrow passage was the real cause of dispute, the Cañon City and San Juan (or Santa Fe), was given the prior right of location. It was warned by the court, however, not to build its road in such a manner as to make construction unduly expensive for the Rio Grande Company; and either party might seek protection of the court if it felt that it was unjustly treated by the other.

This decision it will be observed was a decided victory for the Santa Fe people, for it gave them the prior right of locating and building their line through the first twenty miles of the Cañon according to the right-of-way they had surveyed and platted. While the Congressional Act of 1872 had granted to the Rio Grande a right-of-way two hundred feet wide, from Colorado to old Mexico, that company had not taken formal steps to secure such a right-of-way through the Cañon. The decision did not seek to exclude the Rio Grande Company, whose claims were merely subordinated to those of the Santa Fe. And the decision took into account only the first twenty miles of the Cañon to which it held the Santa Fe had established its prior right according to the Act of March 3rd, 1875. The upper part of the Cañon, some thirty miles in extent, was still in controversy. In this section the Rio Grande people were working. Although the A. T. & S. F. through its other subsidiary, the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley, claimed prior rights through the upper Cañon also, no interference seems to have been offered.

While badly defeated by the decision of August 23rd, the Denver and Rio Grande forces under General Palmer would not give up. They promptly made an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, and while awaiting a decision of the highest court went on with the construction of their line from above the twenty-mile limit just decided in favor of the

Cañon City and San Juan. In New York a syndicate was formed, including foreign capitalists, which purchased \$1,000,000 of the Denver and Rio Grande first mortgage bonds, which funds would absorb the floating debts of the company and provide for a short but vigorous building campaign in the disputed territory. Thus provided, the smaller company now became the aggressive party. On or about September 1st it had started suit in the Federal Circuit Court against the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley, the Santa Fe's chief Colorado subsidiary company, for the right-of-way through the upper Cañon to Leadville, and from the mouth of the South Arkansas to San Luis Park, due west of Cañon City. Judge Hallett being absent from the state, the papers were forwarded to Judge Dillon in St. Louis, who took the new case under advisement. By the close of September, the Denver and Rio Grande was reported to be building its line from the Cañon to Leadville as fast as money and men could do the work. The Royal Gorge route was left undisturbed. Apparently, a defeat had been turned to a victory and never had Palmer's able leadership shown to better advantage.

But the Santa Fe was by no means idle. It had made surveys for a line to Leadville and across the Poncha and Marshall Passes, and on September 3rd, the Secretary of the Interior formally approved of the plats thus submitted to him. While the Company did not claim any prior right-of-way beyond the twenty miles awarded by the decision of August 23rd, it was nevertheless making preparations to build without delay to Leadville. On September 12th the A. T. & S. F. consolidated the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley with the Cañon City and San Juan, thus bringing its Colorado interests under a single corporate head. The capital stock of the combination thus effected was \$6,000,000. Not

only did the Atchison people plan to reach Leadville; it was proposed to extend branches through Gunnison Pass, into Park and Summit counties of the interior, and through Colorado Springs to Denver. This really meant the direct invasion of all the territory occupied by the narrow-gauge road.

Thus matters stood with both parties menacing each other when, early in October, the country was astonished to hear rumors that peace had been made, and that the Santa Fe had leased the Denver and Rio Grande railroad. These rumors were fully confirmed on October 15th, by a dispatch from Cañon City. The careful policies of President Nickerson had brought about this conciliation. Strong knew the comparative financial weakness of the Rio Grande Company and was for fighting it to a standstill. In this he was dissuaded by the cautious Nickerson, and so the now famous "D. & R. G. Lease" was drawn up under Nickerson's supervision and signed in Boston on October 19th, 1878. The lease was to run thirty years, beginning with December 1st, 1878. It comprised all the railroad mileage "heretofore constructed and operated" by the Denver and Rio Grande in Colorado, commencing in the City of Denver and extending thence southwardly through Colorado Springs and Pueblo to El Moro and the El Moro collieries near Trinidad. Likewise the lease included the extension from Cucharas westward via La Veta to Alamosa, and the branch from Pueblo to Cañon City—in all 337 miles of track, not including sidings, together with all equipment, grounds, buildings, appurtenances, and privileges incidental to the operation of the railroad.

The contract specifically exempted the charter rights—except those enumerated—together with all franchises held by the Denver and Rio Grande. In other words, this com-

pany preserved its corporate existence in every way and merely leased its lines, facilities, and privileges of conducting transportation to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. The Santa Fe agreed to operate the leased property at its own expense; to maintain the property and all equipment in good repair, to make needful additions to equipment, and to develop traffic in such a manner as public safety and needs might require. It was to pay the Rio Grande in monthly installments, an annual rental determined as follows: For the first year, 43 per cent. of all gross earnings of the leased lines; for the second year 42 per cent.; for the third year 41 per cent.; and continuing with a one per cent. reduction each year until the fourteenth, whereupon the rental should stay at 36 per cent. of the annual gross earnings for the remaining sixteen years of the term.

It was agreed that neither the Santa Fe nor any corporation under its control should construct or cause to be constructed any line or track to parallel or compete with the existing lines of the Denver and Rio Grande. If any third rail² was laid on the Santa Fe tracks in this combination to make a three-foot gauge, the gauge of the Rio Grande was to be widened and made standard by the laying of a third rail. A road built from a Denver and Rio Grande terminal as an extension of such line was to be of three-foot gauge.

The line of transportation from Denver eastward via Pueblo to the Missouri River or to points on any road owned or controlled by the Santa Fe was to remain open on equal terms for all parties in the transportation of passengers and freight. In other words, there was to be no discrimination which might work injury to the normal volume of busi-

² The Santa Fe lines were all standard gauge of 4 ft. 8½ in. At that time the Rio Grande, as has been noted, was a 3 foot gauge.

ness accruing to the Denver and Rio Grande Company. And as an additional safeguard, the Atchison Company bound itself to make no agreement with any competing road for any division of traffic territory or earnings unless the Rio Grande derived a proportionate benefit and advantage. The Santa Fe was to divert no traffic to the detriment of the Rio Grande, nor could it adjust rates in any way to work harm to the latter.

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe was to keep up the insurance and taxes on the property leased. At Pueblo, furthermore, it should maintain at its own expense an auditor who was to keep a full and accurate account of all Rio Grande money, business, and expenditures. These records were always to be accessible to the officials of the latter company, while monthly and annual statements of earnings and expenditures, together with the outlays for renewals and repairs, were likewise to be rendered to the Denver and Rio Grande authorities.

Upon receiving the Rio Grande property the Santa Fe was to pay cash for all machinery, implements, fuel and railways supplies on hand, at a price to be fixed by two men who were to be appointed, one by the president of each company. If these men disagreed, the presidents might jointly select an umpire and the three men so chosen would act as appraisers. The money thus paid over was to be placed in trust and finally applied to the debts of the Denver and Rio Grande Company, exclusive of capital stock, in so far as such debts exceeded \$22,664 per mile.

Article 10 provided that if the Santa Fe, its successors or assigns, should at any time fail to pay the rent when due and should continue in default for ninety days, it should be lawful for the Rio Grande and its successors or assigns to repossess the property with all additions and improvements

without notice to the Santa Fe. The latter should also be liable for all rent that was in arrears.

At the expiration of the lease, either at the end of thirty years or sooner, the Atchison was to return all the D. & R. G. property in as good order as when first received, due allowance having been made for use and wear. In such event, all rolling stock, supplies, etc., were again to be valued by two appraisers with a third in case of disagreement. All Denver and Rio Grande property was to be in good order on December 2nd, 1878, when the provisions of the lease were to take effect. Finally, both parties agreed to assist each other in any lawful way in the mutual fulfillment of the terms of the contract. Such in substance were the main provisions of the lease, which for a time ended litigation between the rival companies and which seemed for the moment to have restored harmony in Colorado.

As to the reasons for this surprisingly sudden arrangement, the motives of the Santa Fe are not hard to determine. Having assumed a definite policy of expansion under the vigorous leadership of Wm. B. Strong, it had come into conflict with the Rio Grande Company, likewise an ambitious corporation that was full of fight. Finally a lease had been effected, due chiefly to financial inferiority of the Rio Grande, which believed it had secured good terms, and because President Nickerson of the Santa Fe held this to be a safer procedure than to fight it out in the courts or in the field.

As to the Rio Grande, the reasons for the lease were set forth by President Palmer in an official circular dated November 11th, in which it was claimed that the object of the negotiations was to consolidate the Denver and Rio Grande with the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley. It was especially desired to equalize the stock and debts of these two companies.

Whereas, the P. & A. V. had issued stock only at the rate of \$15,438 per mile, with a bonded debt of \$11,780 per mile, the stock and bonded indebtedness of the Rio Grande were \$25,222 and \$22,664 per mile respectively, not to mention a debt of at least \$500,000 recently incurred on account of extensions begun shortly before the lease was made. The lease, Palmer asserted, protected his bondholders, since it provided that the entire rental be deposited in trust monthly to be applied in payment of Rio Grande interest and debts. If any surplus remained, it was to be used for the redemption and cancellation of the company's bonds at their market price. A supplementary personal agreement between Palmer and the Santa Fe officials provided that \$1,700,000 of the stock of the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley or such portions of this amount as Palmer might require, was to be applied through him in further payment of the company's debts in excess of the bonded debt of \$22,664 per mile. This Pueblo and Arkansas Valley stock was to be exchanged pro rata with the \$8,500,000 capital stock of the Rio Grande company. In other words, the Santa Fe privately agreed to exchange one share of its Pueblo and Arkansas Valley stock for five shares of Rio Grande stock. And inasmuch as the former sold at about par, while Rio Grande stock was at this time practically worthless, here was a liberal concession. This practical arrangement was designed mainly to protect the Denver and Rio Grande stockholders, the value of whose shares was bound to rise through an alliance with a company of superior financial standing. Hence the Rio Grande seemed to have much to gain and nothing to lose by the combination thus effected.

On December 3rd the Denver and Rio Grande stockholders in their annual meeting at Colorado Springs, ratified the lease by a four-fifths vote. But since the Santa Fe company

was required by the terms of the lease to deposit in advance a certain sum in payment of Denver and Rio Grande supplies and fuel, President Palmer was authorized to give possession of the property only when he saw fit to do so. The stock of the Denver and Rio Grande and Pueblo and Arkansas Valley companies which had been interchanged was deposited in Boston with T. J. Coolidge of Boston as trustee. Within a few days all differences were adjusted and at midnight of December 13, 1878, the Denver and Rio Grande railroad and its effects passed to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe company, by order of President Palmer. On the same date General Manager Strong announced that all operating officials of the Rio Grande Company would be transferred to the Atchison payrolls; and he instructed D. C. Dodge, general manager of the Rio Grande, to give general notice that the line to and from Denver was open for all freight and passenger business, and that all competing rates would be squarely met.

While commenting upon the local railroad situation some months earlier the *Denver Times* had remarked: "The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Company is a powerful corporation. It appears to be possessed of abundant resources and its managers are credited with a reasonable share of that energy and shrewdness in direction which frequently achieves great success." Within a half year the Santa Fe seemed likely to justify this confidence. It had encountered the Rio Grande on its own ground, defeated it in the Circuit Court and finally had astonished everybody by leasing outright the property of its opponent. This had given it access to Denver, a traffic center of much importance. While the much-prized Leadville extension project had been placed in temporary abeyance, the Santa Fe might build here if it chose to construct a narrow gauge line. And meanwhile with

the Rio Grande thus out of the way, the Santa Fe's larger work, the extension south and westward, from La Junta, had been pushed steadily. In May, 1878, contracts aggregating \$1,500,000 were let for the construction of the first hundred miles of the New Mexico extension. Supplementary plans for building one hundred and twenty miles farther to Las Vegas in the heart of New Mexico, were likewise made ready.

Work started at La Junta in June, and by September 1st, the line was finished and opened for business 81 miles to Trinidad. Sixteen miles south was Raton Pass, the summit of which must be pierced by a tunnel to avoid the expense and hindrance to traffic caused by excessive grades. Work in this tunnel was begun promptly, but there was no waiting for tunnels to be finished. To avoid delay, the Pass was surmounted by a "switch-back," which was boldly conceived by Chief Engineer A. A. Robinson, and on December 7th, 1878, a locomotive traveled over the summit and into New Mexico. The Santa Fe had crossed the first barrier of the Rockies over the strategic Raton Pass and the long contemplated entrance of New Mexico had at last been made.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of 1879, there were rumblings of discontent in Colorado. While the Santa Fe had won a decisive victory and further troubles seemed to have been dispelled, the Denver and Rio Grande felt keenly the humiliation of being leased to its rival. The Grand Cañon war had not yet ended.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GRAND CAÑON WAR CONCLUDED

STRONG made prompt use of the Denver and Rio Grande line to combat his enemies. The two leading roads into Denver, the Union Pacific and the Kansas Pacific, had formed a pool¹ whereby it was agreed to divide their transportation business. Partly in self-defense and partly to secure his share of the business, which the more northerly roads had appropriated, Strong sharply increased the rates on the newly-leased line from Denver south. The effect was to divert a large volume of traffic over the Santa Fe main line by way of Pueblo; and since Pueblo was and is yet the largest city in southern Colorado, she now began to receive much of the wholesale trade that Denver had formerly supplied. This was natural, for the people in southern Colorado found it cheaper to secure Eastern goods directly over the Santa Fe than to pay, in addition to purchase price, the excessive freight rates which Strong had arbitrarily imposed between Denver and Pueblo. Late in December, the roads in the traffic combination announced a virtual boycott of the Santa Fe interests in Colorado. Thus Strong's rate manipulation had virtually stopped all business between the northern and

¹ This was effected late in the spring of 1878. The combination included the Union Pacific, The Kansas Pacific, the Colorado Central and the Omaha Bridge Company. All earnings were to be consigned to a common fund and as usual divided among the members of the pool according to a stipulated percentage. *Commer. & Finan. Chron.*, June 15, 1878.

the southern portions of the state, which created a lot of ill will against the Santa Fe—particularly in Denver, whose press bitterly denounced the Santa Fe for having given the southern counties a “gigantic monopoly.” The Denver merchants, it was asserted, were made the victims of railroad avarice and the city was being ground between two millstones. Nor was there any relief so long as railroads were allowed to pool their business and create such situations. Even from the southern towns which were little affected by the rates, there rose a cry of sympathy for their friends in the capital, and a demand for rate regulation. Now Strong had only fought his enemies in the pool with their own weapons, and his methods were strictly in accord with the common practice of that time. He had merely transferred some of the commercial advantages hitherto enjoyed by the northern half to southern Colorado, and most of the complaints had naturally come from the outraged portion of the state. Yet it must be admitted that his warring tactics had in this case cost him and his Company many friends.

On December 28th, the Santa Fe had effected an arrangement for the purchase of the Denver, South Park and Pacific railroad, a small local line that had been projected between Denver and Leadville, 120 miles, and of which distance about two-thirds was already constructed. On completion this would have given the Atchison Company unexpected access to Leadville from the northeast. The Santa Fe proposed to secure this road through a direct purchase of the first mortgage bonds of the South Park Company, which indebtedness was \$700,000. Inasmuch as such an arrangement was not strictly in accord with the terms of the Denver and Rio Grande lease, the deal was arranged subject to the will of the Denver and Rio Grande bondholders and in absolute good

faith. But it happened that the South Park line had received county aid to the extent of \$300,000 and many excitable persons seem to have believed that this money would be hopelessly lost if the road was sold. As a matter of fact the negotiations fell through and the affair was dropped before the end of January, 1879, yet the incident served to arouse added mistrust of the Santa Fe Company, whose aggressive conduct made it feared by many.

With the approach of spring, bad feeling between the Santa Fe and the Rio Grande factions began to crop out. Regardless of excuses, Palmer, it must be remembered, had consented to the lease, favorable as its terms may have been, chiefly because his company was financially embarrassed and not equal to the money strength of its opponent. By the middle of March, while the Supreme Court decision was still pending, it was openly reported that the Denver and Rio Grande wished to break the lease. The hostile press accused the Santa Fe of removing from the service all the Rio Grande employees that it could, and of shipping guns, ammunition, and supplies to the Cañon. Incidentally, both parties seemed to have organized and armed their forces and sent them to the Cañon. The Supreme Court decision was expected soon; each side believed the Court would decide in its favor and both companies intended to be ready to hold by armed strength whatever advantages they might receive from the Court's ruling. On March 18th, the Supreme Court heard arguments in the Grand Cañon case, Judge Hoar and Sidney Bartlett appearing for the Santa Fe, and Judge Grant and Lyman S. Bass defending the Rio Grande interests. Meanwhile preparations for the conflict went on in the mountain pass where armed men were seizing and fortifying strategic places. General Palmer was at Colorado Springs

awaiting developments. On the 20th the *Rocky Mountain News*² advocated state interference.

On March 23rd the Santa Fe was reported to have 200 men on guard at various points, one force at the mouth of the Cañon, a guard at "Fort De Remer," a force at the Royal Gorge, and another at "Twelve-Mile Bridge." The Santa Fe also began to recruit its fighting strength with professional "bad men" from Dodge City,³ a number of whom were shipped in by the company late in March and early in April. These men as well as those hired locally for this rough and tumble service, were paid three dollars a day and board. Taking advantage of his reinforced strength, Mr. Strong started building his railroad through the Cañon and by March 26th had laid about three miles of track.

On April 10th, the Santa Fe met opposition from an unexpected source when C. W. Wright, the Attorney General of Colorado, started *quo warranto* proceedings against the Company on behalf of the people of the state. Wright's real purpose was to oust the corporation from the state if possible. To that end, warrants were issued and served on two of the Santa Fe local officers, requiring them to appear before Judge Thomas M. Bowen of the State District Court at Colorado Springs on April 22nd to answer and show by what authority they were operating a railroad, a

²In its issue for March 20th, this paper, which was hostile to the Santa Fe, said: "This overgrown and arrogant corporation sets both law and fair dealing at defiance in the pursuit of its purposes. The attitude of the Santa Fe menaces the peace and safety of the state—it is a defiance of law and order and constitutes a condition of affairs which imperatively demands the intervention of executive authority."

³A. A. Robinson to the writer.

"Sheriff W. B. Masterson and 30 men left Dodge City Saturday last (April 5) for Cañon City, where they were called in anticipation of railroad troubles, but we do not hear of any." *Dodge City Times*. Reprinted in *Rocky Mountain News*, April 12, 1879.

Kansas corporation, in Colorado. For this act, Wright was bitterly attacked by the opposition press. It seems that having neglected to inform the Governor in advance as to his contemplated proceedings, Wright was accused of bad faith, of having sold himself to start an ouster suit against the Santa Fe, and of having subordinated a high public office to the professional practice of a private lawyer.

During the early part of April the Denver and Rio Grande officials increased their efforts to win back with bloodshed, if need be, their lines, the lease of which they now openly declared had been violated. D. C. Dodge, general manager of the Rio Grande, announced that the lease had been broken by the Santa Fe almost as soon as ratified. Palmer meanwhile had succeeded in raising funds with which to build his road to Leadville and the San Juan mines. These activities became so threatening as to cause W. W. Borst, superintendent of the Santa Fe lines, in Colorado, to issue a printed circular to all men in the employ of the Santa Fe-Rio Grande railroads, advising that he had been reliably informed that the Rio Grande officials intended to violate the contract and seize their road by force. To avoid any such trouble all men in the service were instructed to obey only the orders given by the regular operating officials of the Company in charge.

On or about April 10th, Mr. Strong reached Denver and began to make ready for the struggle which he knew must come soon, both in courts and in the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas. Scarcely had Strong appeared when General Palmer in a public interview defiantly asserted that the Santa Fe had violated its agreements. It had made prohibitive rates from Denver, which Palmer claimed the lease forbade. It had so adjusted local rates as to divert business from the Rio Grande road; it had hauled its own building materials and supplies free over the Denver and Rio Grande

tracks, thus depriving that company of much rental, which was based upon gross receipts. The Santa Fe, Palmer further claimed, had never carried out the appraisal of the D. & R. G. fuel and supplies as provided by the lease. It had even demanded possession of the property before an appraisal could have been made. To be sure, it had paid \$75,000 cash and deposited \$75,000 with a trustee, but except for the last weeks of December, the Santa Fe, it was said, had not paid the Rio Grande for the use of its lines. Palmer admitted that the rental had been offered, but on the condition that the lease be acknowledged as effective, which proposal had been steadily refused. He believed that his company had a right to resume possession of its property. A few days afterwards, Palmer was quoted as saying that the Atchison Company had broken nearly every provision of the lease, both in spirit and in letter. He asserted that the Santa Fe was \$67,000 behind in its payments to his Company and that it had used Rio Grande supplies for the last four months. He professed confidence in Strong's word and honor, but declared he was suspicious of the "policies emanating from Boston." In short, Palmer openly accused the Santa Fe of bad faith and of having tried to injure the Rio Grande road by diverting traffic from it.

To these general charges it was answered that there was a plot to break the D. & R. G. lease; that a few nights before, an attempt had been made by the Rio Grande forces to attack the Santa Fe men at Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Alamosa, and Cañon City, and the effort had failed only because of the preparedness of the latter Company. Several cases of rifles⁴ and ammunition consigned to the Denver and

⁴On this or a similar occasion during the Grand Cañon troubles a shipment of rifles and revolvers arrived one day at the express office at Cañon City for the D. & R. G. men. The goods were not removed immediately and that night W. R. Morley of the Santa Fe engineering

Rio Grande at Cañon City had been seized by the sheriff. The northern pool it was claimed had been formed at the connivance of the Rio Grande managers to impel the Santa Fe to break the lease. Strong declared that since the first month the Rio Grande people had refused to give a proper receipt for the rent money which had been deposited regularly in a Pueblo bank. Since the lease was effected, Rio Grande stock had risen from nothing to 16 cents on a dollar, and the bonds had doubled in value. The Rio Grande earnings for March, 1879, had been \$20,000 more than for the same month a year before; yet, in spite of these facts, the D. & R. G. people had removed their books from the state to disconcert the Santa Fe's business operations and were now seeking to violate a lawful agreement by arresting Santa Fe laborers and generally resorting to mob rule.

On the 21st day of April, the long-awaited Supreme Court opinion was delivered. It reversed the decision of the lower court and confirmed to the Denver and Rio Grande Company the prior right in the Cañon. This right the court held had been conferred by the Act of June 8, 1872, which gave the Rio Grande the right to the Cañon to be enjoyed after occupation had been made. It was held that the Company had made this occupation on April 19, 1878, that the lower court erred in not recognizing the prior right of the Denver Company through the Cañon, and that the court likewise erred in enjoining that Company at the instance of the Cañon City Company from proceeding in the construction of its road through the defile. In addition the Court held that in view of the extension of time given by the Act of 1877 ⁵ the D. & R. G. must be regarded as having accepted

staff entered the office and removed all the firing pins from the weapons, leaving them useless. Chief Engineer A. A. Robinson to the writer.

⁵ It will be recalled that in 1872 the D. & R. G. Co. had been granted a 200 foot right of way through public lands together with ample

such an extension subject to the provisions of the Act of March 3rd, 1875, which gave a right-of-way to any railroad company through any cañon, pass, or defile, in common with the road first located. Although the prior right of the Denver Company was recognized, the Court held that as to those portions of the Grand Cañon which are too narrow to admit of the construction and operation of more than one roadbed and track, the right of the Cañon City Company to sell such roadbed and track in common with the Rio Grande should be secured by proper orders and upon such terms as might be equitable, having regard to the cost of construction and maintenance of the track in good order. The opinion was handed down by Justice Harlan, Chief Justice Waite dissenting.

It was therefore decided that henceforth no one railroad company could monopolize to the exclusion of all others the narrow mountain passes in our public domain. In a few words then, the decision meant that the Rio Grande people were to have prior right in the Cañon; that the injunction of the lower Federal Court against the D. & R. G. Company could no longer hold; that the Cañon should be occupied jointly by both roads under court regulations; and that the lower court had erred in its procedure. This was a big victory for the Denver and Rio Grande, but there was still plenty of trouble ahead, for the lease was yet binding.

On the 23rd, a suit in equity was brought in the Massachusetts Supreme Court to set aside the lease of the Denver and Rio Grande to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. The plaintiffs were the Rio Grande Com-ground for station, buildings, yards, etc., on condition that its line be constructed to Santa Fe, New Mexico, within five years. This not having been accomplished at the end of that period, a new law was enacted by Congress in 1877, giving the Rio Grande Co. ten years longer in which to build the road to Santa Fe and secure the needed right-of-way.



MT. SAN BERNARDINO FROM SMILEY HEIGHTS, REDLANDS, CALIFORNIA

pany and its President, Wm. J. Palmer; the defendants were the Santa Fe Company, S. B. Schlesinger, Alden Speare, and T. Jefferson Coolidge of Boston. The bill alleged that on October 29th last, the Denver and Rio Grande executed a lease of its road to the Santa Fe, but that this lease was not delivered, and had never taken effect as a valid lease; it had simply been placed in the hands of Schlesinger as an escrow under a written agreement bearing the same date. It was further held that on the same date an agreement had been made between President Palmer and Alden Speare, which was likewise placed in escrow to be held and delivered by Schlesinger upon the same terms and conditions of the lease. The plaintiffs held that the defendants had violated the terms of the lease and the agreements; they asked that Schlesinger be restrained from delivering them, and sought to have them rescinded and canceled. These allegations were denied by the Santa Fe Company.

In Colorado the situation grew more and more threatening. Although the Rio Grande had been granted the right of way, the Santa Fe men would not give up the north side—the desirable side—of the Cañon where they had started building, until paid for the cost of the construction already finished. This problem was taken to Judge Hallett of the Circuit Court, who once more demanded peace while he investigated the facts of the new case. Besides having armed men who were ready if need be to fight, each road had its partisan friends who were prompt to start a newspaper row, the inevitable accompaniment of factional troubles. An excitable correspondent writing from Walsenburg to the *Rocky Mountain News* on April 11th said in part:

We have had enough of the Sante Fe monopoly. We are at present ground down by the most grasping, blood-sucking Corporation Southern Colorado has ever known. From the time the

Santa Fe assumed the management of the D. & R. G. matters have grown gradually worse until to-day we stand helpless, looking to see where and how it will end. If in favor of the broad-gauge, then good-bye to Southern Colorado. We can expect nothing better than being compelled to resort to the old way of wagon transportation. The feeling of the people is unanimously in favor of the D. & R. G. Co. Where three months ago the A. T. & S. F. had many friends among the merchants, to-day they have none. They all say, "Give us back the little road—then we can live." The people have been a little credulous about believing the stories in regard to the armed forces the Santa Fe Co. were said to have, but that is past; we have been treated to a sight of them. The train west-bound on Monday had on board about forty of the dirtiest looking armed men that we have seen in many a day. They were a part of the force from El Moro going toward Alamosa. They say they captured El Moro and had things their own way, and that they will serve any other place where they are sent, in the same manner. The A. T. & S. F. Co. seem to have taken Colorado. What are the authorities doing? Our merchants all through this county are suffering from the excessive tariffs charged by the present management. These high rates of course fall finally on the stock men and ranch men. They are just now being felt by the farmer. The wool-growers on making inquiry what price they may expect for their wool are told that the railroad company will control the price of wool this year. . . .

Writing from Pueblo on the 18th, another correspondent, who was familiar with Patrick Henry's eloquence, says:

The railroad excitement still rages, and the very next breeze that is wafted to us from the Grand Cañon may bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. True, the only thing that has been shed very freely, thus far, is printer's ink, but there is no telling how soon blood may follow, and hence everybody's male and female relations are busy in speculating and cogitating over the probable outcome. There is blood on the moon. . . . The paid agents of the "banana line"⁶ gather on the street corners and talk low and breathe hard and look unutterable things. . . .

⁶ Colloquial nickname then given to the Santa Fe.

Railroad monopoly is a curse at the best, but when it strangles the commerce of a country, and from its luxurious offices in Boston boldly and deliberately sets about the task of corrupting the judiciary and the court; when it bleeds our merchants and shippers of the last cent and seeks to absorb the pioneer railroad of the state by subterfuge and trickery, the outcome becomes too heavy to be borne without resentment. The people of Pueblo and Southern Colorado pinned their faith to the A. T. & S. F., and in the language of the immortal Milton they "got left." . . . Bands of armed men in the employ of the A. T. & S. F. patrol the depot grounds and every man who is caught in that locality near the witching hours of midnight is compelled to throw up his hands and show cause why he should not be riddled with bullets in the name and through the grace of the Boston shad-bellied corporation.

A Denver newspaper reporter, who was an eye-witness, wrote from Cañon City on May 12th:

I arrived in Pueblo from Denver yesterday and found the eating station surrounded on three sides with a motley crowd of men. Some of them bore the appearance of rough usage. Some were drunk and sleeping off their intoxication in out-of-the-way corners on the platform, while the majority were staggering about heavily laden with blankets and traps, swearing, yelling, and making themselves felt as forceful masters of the situation. They had been paid off immediately upon the announcement of Judge Hallett's order directing both parties to withdraw from the disputed ground in the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas, and had spent the night in boisterous carousal. The people in Pueblo were in great alarm, and it is fair to presume that few households near the center of the town slept through the night. Gangs of men who paraded the streets occupied the saloons, gambled, guzzled and made the metropolis literally a howling wilderness. Though but little damage was done, various articles of movable property were carried off, chicken roosts seriously decimated, clothes lines robbed, and the police kept busier looking after the peace of the town than at any former time since its organization.

At three o'clock Saturday afternoon the A. T. & S. F. train

for the east pulled out laden with a large force of laborers, brought to the Cañon for use in the conflict there from different points along its line. Two Rio Grande trains, one headed for the north, the other south, were crowded with laboring men, who shrieked, yelled and hooted at the broad gauge as they left, and continued the salute till they were out of sight. Shortly afterward, the D. & R. G. processions moved to their respective destinations leaving Pueblo pretty thoroughly emptied of its late unwelcome visitors. Nearly three carloads of the worst elements of this dreaded crew were unloaded at Denver Saturday night. I tried to get a press dispatch to you warning the public of their coming, but the office at the depot was packed to suffocation, and it was impossible to reach the operators until too late for your afternoon edition.

Proceeding to Cañon City the same afternoon, I had opportunity for measuring the state of public sentiment there. Every resident of the place was outspokenly partial to the cause of the A. T. & S. F. Co., and during the stormy scenes enacted in the Cañon threw all the sympathy and influence they had against the Rio Grande. Inquiring into the causes I discovered they were based upon a grievance and a hope. The complaints of injustice at the hands of the Rio Grande in multifarious ways were widespread and very bitter. That Company is charged with all the offenses in the calendar and credited with no virtues or benefits conferred. Hence when the road came to peril not a hand was raised to save or shield it. On the contrary, the hope consisted in the advantage to be derived by a directly competitive broad-gauge line. Col. Strong⁷ and his agents had filled the public mind with glittering promises of what should be done when this great work was completed. It was understood and made abundantly manifest by deeds that the A. T. & S. F. had plenty of money and could promptly execute any contract that might be undertaken, while it seemed to be the generally accepted belief that the Rio Grande had no means, did not intend to build through the Cañon to Leadville, but were making the contest simply to hold exclusive possession of the ground until such time as they could get the means to grade and iron

⁷ Strong was frequently dubbed "Colonel" during the Colorado troubles.

the line up the Arkansas. . . . Both the Rio Grande and the A. T. & S. F. Cos. have groups of graders in the Cañon above the point in dispute, both making for Leadville with all possible speed. I heard last evening there had been a slight but bloodless collision between the opposing forces during the day.

Cañon City has been under great excitement for two weeks past and has been filled with rowdies, gamblers and wild rioting. . . . Coming to Pueblo this morning it was my ill-fortune to be in a car full of sharks, gamblers, and thieves who had been preying upon the railroad hands, beating them out of every dollar they could get. These were landed in Pueblo so that the town is not yet rid of its evils. . . .

May 15th, the United States Circuit Court at Denver gave the Atchison Company leave to file a supplemental bill and litigate the question as to whether the Rio Grande Company by lease and other agreements had admitted the Atchison Company to continue construction upon the located line of the former. The Court also decided that in any consideration of the case, the roadbed of a rival company could only be appropriated on paying for the cost of construction after it had been justly determined. The question of the lease must first be decided.

While Judge Hallett was dealing with these problems, the case was suddenly complicated by the interference of the State Courts. Having obtained the writ of *quo warranto* seeking to compel the Santa Fe to show why as a foreign corporation it presumed to operate railway lines in the state, Attorney General Wright now formally entered suit to enjoin the Santa Fe from operating railroads in Colorado. The case was heard before Judge Thomas M. Bowen of the State District Court first in the town of San Luis, Costilla County, and afterwards at Alamosa, where Mr. Willard Teller, attorney for the Santa Fe, applied for a change of venue. Teller alleged that Bowen was prejudiced

against his Company and that the Santa Fe could hope for no justice in Bowen's court. These allegations were accompanied by a sharp arraignment of the Judge, who returned a vigorous reply and denied the motion. These proceedings took place during the latter part of May.

Early in June it was again reported that armed railroad employees were entering the Cañon once more. On the 4th, the *Times* openly attacked the State's Attorney, C. W. Wright, for having dragged the State into the controversy. The private law firm of Butler, Wright and King, of which the Attorney General was a member, were attorneys for the Denver & Rio Grande Company, and the *Times* accused Mr. Wright of having degraded a public office for private gain. Had C. W. Wright been independent in his professional relations, the *Times* declared, he would first have consulted the Governor and not involved the State in so much trouble. At about the same time, the *Denver Tribune* demanded that the Attorney General be impeached for his conduct in the railroad case. And these attacks led the *News*⁸ to accuse both the *Tribune* and *Times* of being in the pay of the Santa Fe Company.

On June 9th the wildest rumors of war were circulated. It was reported that the Denver and Rio Grande had organized its fighting strength, driven the Atchison employees from their positions at Colorado Springs and the Cañon City coal mines, and that an attack was about to be made on South

⁸ June 6, 1879. In its issue for June 4th, the *News* declared editorially that it was indifferent to either of the great combinations that were trying to divide the State yet it sympathized with the D. & R. G. because it was the weaker line. "Our support," it said, "is not to be purchased with money or the promise of political influence." The *News* professed to be in great fear of railroad monopoly, which it declared was "The serpent that is coiling its fatal folds around the young and vigorous industries of the State."

Pueblo. To offset these aggressions it was rumored that the Santa Fe on that same date had sent three extra trains from the south and east to Pueblo carrying Paddy Welsh and 45 deputies from Trinidad, Charles Hickey, Sheriff of Bent County, Colorado, with 18 men, and Sheriff Bat Masterson of Dodge City with 65 men. Aroused by so much excitement, Governor Pitkin gave instructions to the sheriffs of the various counties where trouble was threatening, to summon the militia if unable to preserve peace with local contingents. These reports soon proved rank exaggerations, as little real violence had yet occurred.

On the 10th of June, Judge Bowen of the State District Court issued an injunction forbidding the Santa Fe and all its officers and employees from operating the Denver and Rio Grande railroad lines wholly or in part and from exercising any corporate rights and privileges. This meant the restoration of the property to its original managers. On or about the same date, Palmer published an open circular which aimed to justify the hostile action his Company was taking against the lessees. It was alleged that the Santa Fe had injured the Rio Grande Company indirectly by helping the Denver South Park & Pacific Company build a line to Leadville; that the terms of the lease had been violated; that the Denver & Rio Grande property had been neglected; that rental payments had not been made promptly, and that other acts of injustice had been committed. Palmer and his men, including ex-Governor A. C. Hunt, now made ready to take over their road by force, and this conduct merely complicated matters between the State and Federal Courts.

Bowen's writs of injunction, which were served on June 11th, ordered the sheriffs in the various counties traversed by the D. & R. G. lines to take possession of the property. The sheriffs in turn served writs upon the officers and agents who

were operating the road. In Denver a Rio Grande force broke open the doors of the Company offices and placed their own men in charge. The round-houses were occupied in a similar manner. A train load of D. & R. G. men then started south to assist their friends in the seizure of the line. Reports of much violence reached the Governor by wire. At Pueblo, an armed force was driven from the train dispatcher's office by the sheriff and a posse only after a shooting fray in which no one was injured. That same evening, Hunt and his crowd of 200 men reached Pueblo from the southern part of the state. They had seized all the small stations and carried off the agents as prisoners on a stolen train. It was said that two Santa Fe employees were killed and two wounded, for resisting. Thus in a single day Palmer's forces with Judge Bowen's writs as a pretext recovered possession of their road in a whirlwind attack. The Santa Fe men as a rule made little or no resistance. It seems they had received instructions to await the action of the law.

While this seizure was being effected, Attorney Willard Teller, appearing before Judge Hallett, moved to quash Bowen's injunctions and sought to have the matter brought into Federal Court for consideration. The next day, on June 12th, Hallett granted this application transferring the case to the United States Court and declared Bowen's writs were virtually null and void. Hallett contended that any action which denied the right of the Santa Fe or any outside corporation to conduct business in Colorado could not be sustained so long as such corporations complied with the laws. The state might prevent a foreign corporation from conducting business within its boundaries, but if such a corporation entered the state and acquired movable property therein, the state had no right to confiscate such property whether it be a horse or a railroad. This looked encour-

aging for the Santa Fe; but two days later, on June 14th, Judge Bowen sprang a new surprise by placing the Denver & Rio Grande Company in the hands of a receiver, Mr. H. A. Risley of Colorado Springs, one of the Rio Grande lawyers, being granted charge of the railroad. The contest now became a battle of legal wits.

The suit was opened in the Federal Circuit Court at Denver on June 17th, with Judge Hallett on the bench, assisted by Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court, who sat in an advisory capacity. Both Companies were ready with the pick of their lawyers: Messrs. Reed, Teller, Beckwith and Pratt for the Santa Fe; and Wells, Smith, Macon, Bass, Butler and Attorney General Wright for the Rio Grande. In the exchange of affidavits the latter claimed that the Atchison Company had worn out the rails of the D. & R. G. and stripped the road of its rolling stock. The Santa Fe claimed that on the whole they had peaceably surrendered their opponent's lines; that Judge Bowen's conduct had been illegal; and that at some points they had been forcibly ousted before the writ of possession had been read. It was charged that when on June 9th the Santa Fe attorneys had filed application and bond with Judge Bowen to have the case transferred from the State to the Federal Court, Bowen had returned the papers with his written refusal. Anticipating this hostility, the Santa Fe attorneys filed with the clerk of the court a duplicate of the petition and bond, when by an alleged subterfuge Bowen cut short the proceedings, adjourned his court and sat in chambers, claiming he could not act upon a matter of removing a case while not sitting formally in court. It was further claimed that copies of Bowen's writs of injunction were printed and scattered on June 10th along the Denver and Rio Grande lines before the arguments were concluded and while the case

was still pending, whereas they were not officially served until the morning of the 11th. This went to show, the Santa Fe lawyers contended, that the State Court had rendered judgment against their client before the hearing of the case was concluded.

During these proceedings Denver suffered from a freight blockade. Having seized its line, the Denver & Rio Grande Company had of course made no traffic arrangements with the Santa Fe, which controlled the eastern outlet via Pueblo. Consequently no through freights came in by the southern route, the Santa Fe shipments naturally stopping at Pueblo. Only consignments from local D. & R. G. points were reaching the capital from the south, which situation was harmful to the business ⁹ of Denver and northern Colorado.

On June 23rd, Judge Hallett, Justice Miller concurring, rendered a decision. The Court held that the Denver & Rio Grande property had been wrongfully taken and that within three days after June 25th it must be turned over to the lessee, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Company. Lest further resistance might be made, Justice Miller declared that the order must be promptly obeyed and that any violence would be sharply discountenanced. The Rio Grande attorneys then moved for an immediate execution of the Supreme Court mandate with reference to the Grand Cañon, claiming that the Supreme Court decision applied to the whole twenty miles in dispute from the mouth of the Cañon westward. To this Miller responded that the prior right conceded by the highest court to the Rio Grande applied only to that portion of the Cañon which was too narrow for both roads—the Royal Gorge. Since the Santa Fe had

⁹ *Times*, June 18 and June 25. One firm even had a shipment of goods returned from Pueblo to Topeka and re-shipped to Denver over the Kansas Pacific.

already built through the Gorge under authority of the Federal Circuit Court and refused to give over its property without compensation, Miller held that the Supreme Court mandate could not be executed until the cost of the Santa Fe construction could be determined. As to restoring the property, the Rio Grande people asked for a stay of proceedings until the receivership question could be settled, and this the Court granted.

On July 2nd, Justice Miller decided that the State Court had acted within its authority and that Mr. Risley was a legally appointed receiver. This decision seems to have been based upon the fact that Judge Bowen had acted in response to a suit for foreclosure of the Denver & Rio Grande mortgage and for a receiver, which suit had been brought by L. H. Meyer of New York, who represented a number of the company's bondholders. The Santa Fe attorneys then moved that the receiver be discharged, but they were overruled. Baffled for the time, they next moved for an injunction to restrain the Denver & Rio Grande forces from blocking construction above the twenty-mile limit in the direction of Leadville. Since both the Circuit and Supreme Courts had ruled only on the first twenty miles of the Cañon, the decision of the latter evidently pertaining only to the Gorge, Strong and Robinson had pushed operations, building the line through the first twenty miles of the Cañon and crossing the Arkansas by means of a hanging bridge,¹⁰ a bold and original idea of Robinson's. At the twenty-mile limit the Santa Fe laborers were stopped by Engineer De Remer and an armed force of Rio Grande men who had established themselves in a stone fort. On being asked by

¹⁰ A duplicate of this bridge, suitably enlarged for modern traffic conditions, may still be seen by those who travel through the Royal Gorge.

what authority he was acting, De Remer is said to have answered, "By the decision of the United States Supreme Court and these fifty men back of me." At Pueblo the Santa Fe employees were savagely attacked by Rio Grande mobs. Engineers and firemen were dragged from their cabs and beaten; written threats with coffins, skulls and cross-bones, and warnings to leave the country were sent to station agents and train men, and there was frequent bloodshed. The Santa Fe appears to have made no organized defense, preferring to fight its battles in the Federal Courts. These events happened during the last days of June and early in July. The case was now continued before Judge Hallett and Justice Miller at Denver.

On July 8th Chief Engineer Robinson of the Santa Fe presented an affidavit that he had completed and had ready for operation 23 miles of railroad, extending from Cañon City through the twenty-mile zone in litigation; that he had been stopped by armed men in a stone fort; and that his company had the materials ready to build 60 miles farther to the South Arkansas if not restrained by fortifications. Mr. Robinson also stated that the Rio Grande people were not working consistently; that they were grading only here and there. The Santa Fe stood ready to build at once to Leadville if the court permitted. Little could be done, however, so long as their opponents blocked the way with 150 or 200 men with shot-guns, rifles, pistols and bayonets.

In reply, the Rio Grande lawyers declared the arming of their forces had been necessitated for protection against their enemies. And they admitted that their engineers had not located a line beyond the 20th mile post until July 26th, 1878—a virtual concession that the Santa Fe had preceded them in the upper Cañon.

After reviewing a mass of conflicting testimony, Justice

Miller announced that the Court was now convinced that Meyer's application for a receiver was a proceeding in collusion with the Rio Grande Company and a virtual subterfuge to prevent Judge Hallett's order of restriction from being carried out. The Court now saw no good reason for this receivership; there had been no general demand for it on the part of the bondholders, and the road was not shown to be insolvent. Accordingly, on July 14th, the Court ordered that receiver Risley be discharged and that he restore the property within two days. The order was promptly obeyed, the road being first transferred to the Denver and Rio Grande and then to the Santa Fe Company—which brought the case back to its starting point. Likewise the Court held that the Supreme Court decision gave the Rio Grande people the prior right all the way from Cañon City to Leadville. But they must take over the constructed line and pay all legitimate costs of construction, which costs would be determined by a board of three expert engineers, one to be appointed by each Company and one by the Court. Neither party must work in the Cañon until the Commissioners had therefore adjusted matters. On the 15th the Rio Grande moved to vacate the Court order of June 25th, but Miller refused the motion, declaring that Company in contempt of court. He declared the D. & R. G. people had taken forcible possession of their property, which abuses no judge or court could tolerate.

On July 16th, Mr. Risley turned the D. & R. G. property back to the Company. On the same day Judge Usher of the Rio Grande counselors filed a motion for an order to restrain the Santa Fe from operating the railroad; and he moved that a receiver be appointed to take over and conduct the leased lines until his Company could prepare its arguments for the cancellation of the lease. The road was

handed over to the Santa Fe on the 21st. There was some violence, together with a few assaults upon Santa Fe trainmen, but no serious outbreaks.

July 24th Judge Hallett granted a receiver in response to Usher's motion and appointed Lewis C. Ellsworth of Denver to the position. The latter was instructed to give a bond for \$200,000 and retain W. W. Borst of the Santa Fe as general superintendent. On the 15th of August, Mr. Ellsworth took over the property as an independent receiver and began to operate the railroad to the apparent satisfaction of all. Quiet was at last restored in vexed Colorado and it only remained for dignified negotiations to end the prolonged troubles. Ellsworth was to present to the Clerk of the Court, within thirty days, a full inventory of the property in his possession; he was to carry out in good faith the lawful contracts of both companies, operate the road, and file full statements of revenues and expenditures with the Clerk of the Court.

In September it was reported from Pueblo that Chief Engineer A. A. Robinson had been ordered to locate a Santa Fe line from Pueblo to Denver. This report was followed about the 15th by a rumor—perhaps a strange coincidence—that Jay Gould, who now controlled the Kansas Pacific, had purchased the Denver and Rio Grande railroad and that he would quickly compromise all difficulties, buy the Santa Fe grade in the Cañon and expand the D. & R. G. lines in all directions. A few days later, President Palmer issued a circular advising his stockholders to accept a proposition recently made by Messrs. Gould and Sage, whereby these gentlemen¹¹ offered to buy the shares of every holder of Denver and Rio Grande stock at \$22.00 per share, pay-

¹¹ While Sage appears to have been silently associated with Gould in the deal, the latter, it seems, was the aggressive party who instigated and conducted the negotiations.

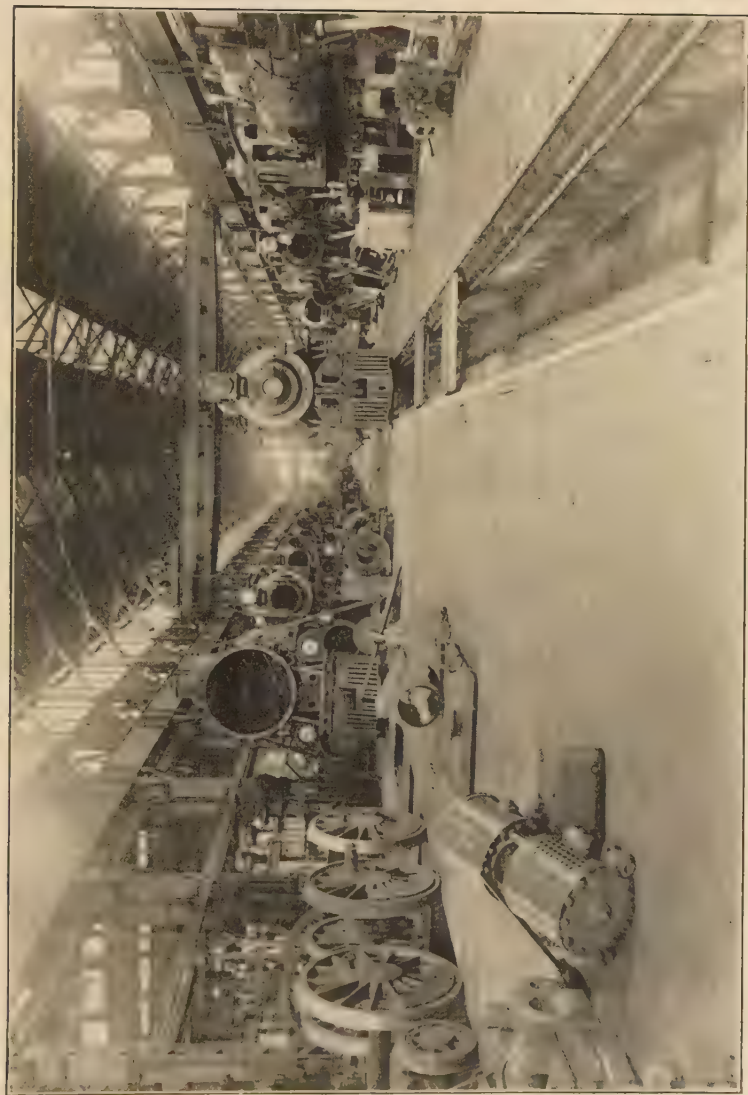
able at the option of the purchasers in cash or in Kansas Pacific stock or mortgage bonds. This offer was generally accepted and on September 29th the Gould interests came into possession of half of the Denver & Rio Grande stock, which was accepted unconditionally. Both the Gould and Palmer interests were to have equal representation in the Rio Grande directorate. Until the Santa Fe lawsuits were concluded, the new syndicate was to spend \$5,000,000 of funds already subscribed in extending the main line southward from Alamosa through New Mexico. Early in October it was reported that negotiations had been opened between Mr. Gould and Messrs. Strong and Nickerson of the Santa Fe.

In order to ascertain for final settlement the expense and amount of the work which the Atchison company had actually performed in the Cañon, the Rio Grande had selected George E. Gray of California; the Santa Fe had chosen Sooeey Smith of Chicago; while Judge Hallett's choice was A. N. Rogers of Colorado. Specifically, it will be remembered that this Board of Commissioners had been appointed by the Court to make a careful examination and report whether in their judgment there was room for two railroads throughout the Cañon, together with their estimate of the value of whatever railroad had been constructed between Cañon City and Leadville. Their report was completed and filed October 20. They held, as was widely known, that it was impracticable to build two roads through the Royal Gorge. Their estimates were filed with the Court, which resumed the case November 20th; but, on account of illness, Judge Hallett was forced to adjourn after a short session until late in December. The seemingly endless question of canceling the Denver & Rio Grande lease had still to be determined.

On the 2nd of January, 1880, the Circuit Court for Colo-

rado decided that the Denver & Rio Grande should have and continue to hold the prior right of way for locating and constructing a railway from the entrance of the Cañon to the mouth of the South Arkansas River. It could take the railroad already constructed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe in the Cañon by paying whatever amount the commissioners might determine. If such payment were made, all injunctions and restraining orders hitherto in effect should be dissolved, while the Pueblo & Arkansas Valley Company was permanently enjoined not to interfere. From the South Arkansas to the town of Leadville, the Atchison Company, or its subsidiary, the Pueblo & Arkansas Valley, was granted the prior right because of having first located a line between these points. Andrew N. Rogers of Colorado was appointed by the Court as a Commissioner to determine where the road already or partly built might be connected with another line, and to compute as soon as possible the cost of all work that had been performed. The three-mile stretch between Cañon City and the entrance to the Cañon was held not to be in controversy in these suits. The Denver & Rio Grande could accept or reject the Commissioner's report within ten days after it was filed. If it chose to accept, it must deposit within sixty days in the Chemical National Bank of New York City the amount stipulated by Mr. Rogers, whereupon it would be given full possession. The opinion was rendered by Judge McCrary, who sat for Judge Hallett. The Rio Grande offered to give bonds for any amount in order to get possession of the line, which they desired to extend to Leadville without delay. But McCrary declared that nothing could be done until Rogers gave his report, and so matters remained for several weeks.

Impatient of further delay, Denver & Rio Grande attorneys appeared before the United States Supreme Court on



MAIN BAY, MACHINE AND BOILER SHOP, TOPEKA, LOOKING NORTH

January 5th, and succeeded in getting an early day appointed for hearing an application for a writ of *mandamus*, which application had already been made. This writ, if granted by the higher court, would compel Judge Hallett to execute the original Supreme Court decree of April, 1879, without requiring the D. & R. G. people to make payment of any kind for the work done by the Santa Fe, and without any conditions whatever. It was pleaded that the Circuit Court had not placed the Denver & Rio Grande Company in possession of its prior right of way as ordered; but on February 2nd the Supreme Court¹² sustained Hallett's interpretation of their decision and denied the petition. Here was a Santa Fe victory, but while the highest court in the land deliberated, a small group of financiers met and by mutual concessions compromised the difficulties and brought peace to the warring companies.

Reference has been made to the rumor, the preceding September, that the Santa Fe planned to build a line from Pueblo to Denver, thus coming into direct competition with the Kansas Pacific. This rumor was soon followed by the official announcement that the Gould interests, which then controlled the Kansas Pacific, had bought half the stock of the Denver and Rio Grande and secured equal representation with the Palmer interests in the Rio Grande directorate. January 15th, 1880, word came from New York that a company had been organized to build a new east and west railroad, the Pueblo & St. Louis. The road would go from Pueblo down the Arkansas Valley 340 miles to Great Bend, Kansas, running parallel with the Santa Fe for the entire distance. At Great Bend, lines would be sent out to connect

¹² *Weekly Times* Feb. 4, 1880. The denial was on the ground that the lower court was at liberty to exercise its judicial discretion and that in such a case the remedy for errors lay in appeal and not by a *mandamus*.

with the Kansas Pacific at Salina and the Missouri Pacific at Wichita. The new road, it was announced, was to get coal and timber from the Rocky Mountains and to ship hay, grain and provisions to the mines in Colorado. It would furnish the Denver & Rio Grande a water grade outlet from the mountains eastward and in connection with the Gould system would form a new short line from Colorado to St. Louis. Capitalized at \$3,000,000, the Pueblo & St. Louis was to build wholly by stock subscriptions, which funds were said to be already provided. But these plans were soon halted.

On the 2nd of February, 1880, the same day of the final Supreme Court decision, news was sent from New York that the decision was of no importance, for a settlement had been made out of court. By terms of this settlement it was agreed first, that all litigation cease. The Santa Fe relinquished the lease and the receiver was to be discharged. The shares of the Denver & Rio Grande and the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley Companies were to be reëxchanged. The Rio Grande road was restored to its owners and that Company was to have the line through the Grand Cañon to Leadville on payment to the Santa Fe of \$1,400,000 and interest, for the work and material which the Santa Fe had already expended in the Cañon, together with a bonus of \$400,000. It had actually built about 20 miles of railroad through the defile and had graded some distance beyond. The Pueblo & St. Louis railroad project was to be dropped and the Rio Grande Company agreed to discontinue its extension into north central New Mexico at a point about 50 miles from Santa Fe. In return for these concessions, the Atchison Company was not to build to Leadville or Denver nor to any place on or west of the Rio Grande main line except a 33 mile spur from Pueblo to the Cañon coal fields; the coal

thus reached should be shipped over the Santa Fe lines only for railroad use and for sale in the Arkansas Valley. It was further stipulated that all eastern traffic originating at Leadville and in D. & R. G. territory in southern Colorado should be delivered, one half to the Kansas Pacific and one half to the Santa Fe; while one-fourth of all shipments between Denver and points east should go over the Santa Fe lines via Pueblo. These terms of agreement having been concluded, all suits were withdrawn and peace was declared. Thus by a "gentlemen's agreement" the Grand Cañon war was ended; a struggle that rent a state into factions and a struggle without precedent in which two corporations contended both with armed forces in the State and local Federal Courts and in the Supreme Court of the United States for a mountain pass.

Though technically defeated, Strong had gained the substantial fruits of victory. While courts quibbled as to the right of possession he had boldly built a railroad through the disputed portion of the Pass, which construction greatly strengthened his Company in making terms of settlement and for which his opponents had to pay a handsome price. For the Santa Fe the real victory had lain in the winning of Raton Pass. As will be shown in the succeeding chapter, Strong's campaign in Colorado, which for nearly two years absorbed the energies of the rival Denver & Rio Grande and brought satisfactory terms from Jay Gould, was in effect, only a strategic rear guard action which masked the more important operations at the front. For with its rivals thus involved the Santa Fe was in the meantime building steadily across New Mexico and by securing an outlet on the Pacific coast was soon to become a great railroad.

CHAPTER IX

AN OUTLET TO THE PACIFIC

Yesterday morning the last coach went out of Las Vegas for Santa Fe. The officers were removed to Cañoncito from whence the stage will hereafter run to Santa Fe until the railroad is built to that point. We are sorry to see them go. The stage men and employees looked like they were leaving their earthly treasures.

This stage line was a great and ancient institution. It came in after General Kearny's army in 1846. . . . At first it was a mail every six months brought through under guard. The service was soon increased to a monthly and finally to a daily, and previous to the construction of railroads across the plains these were halcyon days. Gradually the iron horse has been driven down the Santa Fe trail, and at each extension shortened up the stage line.

Now it is reduced to a short 15-mile run, to disappear forever in another week. It will be an institution of the past, but will always be remembered by the old inhabitants of New Mexico.

THE above news item which marked the abandonment of the Santa Fe trail, appeared in the *Las Vegas Gazette* about January 20th, 1880.

Descending the south slope of Raton Mountain early in January, 1879, the Santa Fe railroad had been driven steadily into New Mexico. The work was conducted under the charter of the New Mexico & Southern Pacific Railroad Company. On the 4th of July, Las Vegas was reached, 114 miles from the Colorado boundary. July 14th a tunnel 2,011 feet

in length was completed through the summit of Raton Mountain, which had been crossed with difficulty by means of a switch-back since the 7th of the previous December. September 7th the tunnel was opened for regular traffic and with the steep grades thus greatly reduced, the Rocky Mountains had ceased to be a serious hindrance. At the same time, important building operations, to be detailed later, were going on in Kansas.

Old Santa Fe, 853 miles from the Missouri river, was at last reached by means of an eighteen-mile spur from Lamy, on February 9th, 1880. Because of the mountainous country it was found wholly unwise to build the main line to the New Mexican capital, so long the goal of the railroad that was destined to bear its name. Pushing rapidly down the valley of the Rio Grande, the road was built into Albuquerque—250 miles from the Colorado line—on April 15th. From this important place, lines were soon to radiate, both to California and Old Mexico. In his annual report for 1879, President Nickerson was able to say: "The current year has been one of great activity and more than usual progress." Since the last report of the Board, three branch lines had been constructed in Kansas adding 191 miles to the lines in that state. In New Mexico to the present date 268 miles had been built, adding about 459 miles to the lines operated and controlled by the Atchison Company. Trains were running into the City of Santa Fe, and to Albuquerque on the Rio Grande. The railroad property had been materially improved; and the Company was now in a better condition as to equipment and outfit than ever before, and well prepared to handle its increasing business.

Whereas the mileage had been only 786 at the close of 1877, at the end of 1879 it was about 1168 miles; and by the first of May, 1880, the Company operated 1318 miles,

with a road extending from the Missouri river to the Rocky Mountains and the Rio Grande. Gross earnings had risen from \$2,679,106 in 1877 to \$6,381,442 in 1879. The first dividend on capital stock had been paid in August of the latter year, with good prospects for regular dividends thereafter. And this substantial progress which had made the year 1879 "one of notable events in the history of the corporation" had been made contemporaneously with the Grand Cañon war, which was discomfiting the Santa Fe's rivals in Colorado.

In addition to the development just noted, President Nickerson referred to "several very important negotiations" which had been carried to successful completion that year. By means of these negotiations the company had formally taken over the control of the Pueblo & Arkansas Valley and the New Mexico & Southern Pacific railroads, companies of the Santa Fe's creation, but which for strategic reasons had at first been operated as separate units.

There was to be no delay. Building down the valley of the Rio Grande, the road was pushed to San Marcial, 103 miles south of Albuquerque, on October 1st. This gave the company a main line of 353 miles in New Mexico. Interesting developments fraught with great importance were now to be revealed. Late in October it was announced that General Manager Strong while in the East had arranged with Messrs. Huntington, Crocker, Towne and Stubbs of the Southern Pacific whereby the Santa Fe should be given the privileges of connecting its extension with the Southern Pacific in southwest New Mexico. Money was no longer lacking, for the splendid increase of earnings, the successful handling of the company's lands and the sound management of the Santa Fe Company had now secured for it abundant credit. In 1880 about \$5,000,000 in bonds for construction work in

New Mexico and for the purchase of branch lines in Kansas were floated with ease. In February of that year a competent financial authority had declared the New Mexico division of the Santa Fe one of the richest investments ever offered to the stockholders of the parent company. The extension had been built economically and within three years from the date of its beginning a profit of one hundred sixty-four per cent. on their money had accrued to the investors.

The road was built on from San Marcial under a new charter, the Rio Grande, Mexico & Pacific Railroad company. At Rincon, 76 miles below San Marcial, the line divided, one branch going 128 miles southwest to Deming where, on March 8th, 1881, connection was established with the Southern Pacific railroad. By this combination a new route to California had been secured and from the interchange of through business with a rival, the Santa Fe hoped to profit much. Building 78 miles southeast from Rincon, the line on June 11th reached El Paso, Texas, where direct access to the City of Mexico was soon to be obtained over the rails of the Mexican Central, which road was likewise under construction during this period. All these extensions in Colorado and New Mexico were under the immediate supervision of Albert A. Robinson, chief engineer, one of the greatest railroad builders this country has produced and who in the course of his career constructed over 4,000 miles of the Santa Fe lines. A main stem of about 1160 miles from the Missouri River to the Mexican border had been secured, together with numerous branches in Kansas. The Santa Fe had at last crossed New Mexico and in connection with the Southern Pacific had effected a long desired through route to Southern California. A great deal had been accomplished, but if the Santa Fe were not to continue dependent upon the good-will of a strong rival company for an outlet to Cali-

ifornia, there still remained the huge task of driving a railroad several hundred miles across desert wastes. If the Santa Fe were to become a great railroad it must provide itself with an independent line to salt water; it must span the entire distance from the Missouri river to the Pacific Ocean. And its far-seeing management had already taken definite action to accomplish that task; to secure what was to be an all-important portion of a future transcontinental main line.

In his report for 1879, President Nickerson had stated:

Another negotiation which required nearly six months to complete, secures to your Company an interest in the valuable franchise of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, which gives your road right of way across Arizona and California to the Pacific Coast.

Your Company, jointly with the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway Company, will build a new road from Albuquerque along the thirty-fifth parallel, which in due time will form part of a transcontinental line. The money for building six-hundred miles of this new road is being subscribed and the work is now being pushed with all possible energy. The completion of this line must be of great value to your property.

Incorporated by an Act of Congress approved July 27th, 1866, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad company had been authorized to locate, construct and equip a continuous railroad and telegraph line, namely: "Beginning at or near the town of Springfield, in the State of Missouri, thence to the western boundary line of said State, and thence by the most eligible railroad route as shall be determined by said Company, to a point on the Canadian river, thence to the town of Albuquerque, on the River Del Norte, and thence, by way of the Agua Frio, or other suitable pass, to the head-waters of the Colorado Chiquito, and thence along the thirty-fifth

parallel of latitude as near as may be found most suitable for a railway route, to the Colorado River, at such point as may be selected by said company for crossing; thence by the most practicable and eligible route to the Pacific." The Company was also empowered to construct a branch "from the point at which the road strikes the Canadian River eastwardly, along the most suitable route as selected, to a point in the western boundary line of Arkansas, at or near the town of Van Buren." One of the numerous Pacific railroads chartered by Congress during the Sixties, this project was long designated as the "35th parallel route." From Albuquerque to the Colorado river it is now the main line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, while from the Canadian River in Oklahoma to St. Louis, Missouri, and Van Buren, Arkansas, the old Atlantic and Pacific lines as originally laid out are at present the approximate respective routes of the St. Louis and San Francisco, and the Memphis division of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific railroads.

The authorized capital stock of the Atlantic & Pacific company was \$100,000,000, to consist of one million shares of \$100 each. A right-of-way two hundred feet in width was granted through all public lands, together with sufficient ground for station-buildings, switching-yards and shops; and this right-of-way was to be exempt from taxation in all Territories through which the road passed. To encourage and facilitate the construction of the railroad and its branches, the company was granted every odd section of public land to the extent of twenty alternate sections per mile on each side of the line as built through the Territories, and ten alternate sections per mile on either side through any state. The usual provision was made for awarding the company with indemnity or lien lands in case any portions of the grant had been taken up before the road was constructed.

All "mineral" lands, those containing iron and coal excepted, were excluded from the operation of the act. No money should be taken from the treasury of the United States to aid in the construction of the Atlantic & Pacific railroad.

Besides the customary technical provisions as to organizations details, methods of construction, provisions for homesteads, etc., it was stipulated that the Company should begin work on the railroad within two years after the act had been approved by the President. At least fifty miles per year should be completed annually after the second year; and the entire main line should be finished and in full operation by July 4th, 1878. If any of these conditions were broken, the Federal government reserved to itself the right of completing the road.

As to financing, it was provided that all the people of the United States should have the right to subscribe to the stock of the Company until the whole authorized capital was taken up. Ten per cent. of these subscriptions were to be paid in cash and unless the Company obtained within two years after the passage of the Act bona fide stock subscriptions of one million dollars with ten per cent. of this amount in cash, the charter became null and void.

And finally, a significant clause provided, "That the Southern Pacific Railroad, a company incorporated under the laws of the State of California, is hereby authorized to connect with the said Atlantic and Pacific railroad formed under this act, at such point, near the boundary line of the State of California, as they shall deem most suitable for a railroad line to San Francisco, and shall have a uniform gauge and rate of freight or fare with said road." The Southern Pacific was to be awarded similar land grants subject to the same regulations as to the manner and time of construction if it carried out this undertaking.

While elaborately organized and granted more than 40,000,000 acres of land subject to the conditions thus enumerated, it will at once be recognized that the Atlantic & Pacific line was projected for much of the way through the desert wastes of Arizona and Western New Mexico; instead of following, it ran directly across the fertile valleys of the Rio Grande and Pecos Rivers, which contain the choicest lands of New Mexico. The route crossed the staked plains of Northern Texas and extended the entire length of the Indian Territory, all of which regions then offered small inducement ¹ to capitalists. Only in Missouri and Arkansas were the lands likely to draw early attention; and since, as has been mentioned, the finances of the country, due to the Civil War, were still disarranged, the company accomplished nothing for several years.

October 25th, 1870, the Atlantic & Pacific was consolidated with the South Pacific² Railroad Company, which operated a line from Pacific City near St. Louis across southwest Missouri. The latter had been organized under the provisions of an act of the Missouri Assembly, approved March 17th, 1868; and, under an Act of Congress passed June 10th, 1852, it had received a grant of 1,161,205 acres which had been promptly withdrawn from sale to aid in the construction of that road. At or about the time the merger was effected the Atlantic & Pacific had secured title to 500,000 acres of its own lands—480,000 in Missouri and 20,000 in Arkansas. In taking over the South Pacific it assumed a mortgage of \$7,250,000 covering the entire road of the latter; and the Atlantic & Pacific was to devote the proceeds

¹ Down to June 30, 1914, only 4,365,970 acres, a little over one-tenth of the original Atlantic & Pacific grant, had been patented for exploitation. Letter U. S. Land Office, to the writer.

² Not to be confused with the Southern Pacific Railroad Company.

from the sale of these lands to the extinction of the mortgage.

By June, 1871, this consolidation, now the Atlantic & Pacific railroad, had completed its line from Pacific City, 37 miles west of St. Louis, across Missouri and had started building through Indian Territory. Train service had been established from St. Louis to Seneca on the state line, a distance of 330 miles, connection with the metropolis having, it seems, been secured over the rails of another line. To further its growth, the Company had issued two mortgages amounting to \$10,250,000. Land sales were averaging about \$45,000 per month. Encouraged by this progress and anxious to secure a direct outlet to the Pacific Coast, a delegation of Missouri citizens went to San Francisco—arriving April 26th, 1872—to devise ways and means for building a railroad between the two cities.

The visitors consulted with the San Francisco Committee of One Hundred, a well-known commercial club of that city. Some of the Californians favored uniting with the Atlantic & Pacific Company for the purpose of building a through line; some favored building an independent road southeast from San Francisco, to connect with the Atlantic & Pacific; and others desired to purchase the Southern Pacific, then building through California, and use it as the beginning of a trans-continental railroad. The negotiations seemed to progress favorably. On May 6th at a public conference the committee of One Hundred resolved to ally with the Atlantic & Pacific and to take \$15,000,000 of the stock in that company, which arrangement also would give San Francisco several members of the directorate. Before coming to a final conclusion, however, the San Francisco men decided to send a commission of three members back to St. Louis with the returning delegation to investigate more closely the affairs of the Atlantic & Pacific Company. A contract was made

between the two groups whereby the San Francisco people were given six months in which to give their final acceptance or rejection of the general plan.

But the Atlantic & Pacific project was finally discarded by the Californians. The Company land grant did not prove entirely satisfactory to some; and the Committee of One Hundred soon became so badly divided that the fulfillment of any definite plan seemed futile. The Texas and Pacific railroad company just incorporated had planned to build a line from the eastern boundary of Texas to the Bay of San Diego and President Thomas A. Scott of the new company was already in California looking after terminal facilities at San Diego. Apparently thinking this railroad more likely of realization, about one-third of the Committee of One Hundred threw their support to the Texas & Pacific; while a majority favored building a road that should be controlled entirely by California capitalists.

So in July the San Francisco and Colorado River Railway Company was organized with an authorized capital stock of \$50,000,000. Subscriptions to the amount of \$3,900,000 were obtained and several millions more were promised. San Francisco was further asked to contribute a subsidy of \$10,000,000; and besides this amount the southern counties were to be solicited for additional contributions. It was decided in San Francisco to vote upon the \$10,000,000 subsidy at the coming November election. But in the meantime it was learned that the \$10,000,000 if voted would merely go to purchase the Southern Pacific, which had been constructed largely with subsidies, and so the people declined to buy a railroad which their own money had already helped to build. Thus the whole proposition fell through. The Atlantic & Pacific scheme had been side-tracked because of the diverse plans of the San Francisco Committee of One Hundred which

diversion it is said ³ had been encouraged by the machinations of an opposing railroad company. It remained for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe to give Southern California its first direct transcontinental route; and it was to be the Santa Fe's task first to assist in building, and finally to rehabilitate and make effective use of the Atlantic & Pacific railroad.

During these California negotiations the Atlantic & Pacific railroad leased the Pacific Railroad of Missouri. This road, now called the Missouri Pacific, extended across the state from St. Louis to Kansas City with several extensions. Its main line and branches had a total of 580 miles, which gave the Atlantic and Pacific system an aggregate of 844 miles of lines mostly in Missouri. At the time this lease was made the finances of the Atlantic & Pacific were reported to be in a doubtful condition, but the Company arranged to purchase \$1,000,000 worth of new rolling stock to take care of its growing business; and while the panic of 1873 stopped virtually all building progress, much was done to improve the general standard of the property. But it took large outlays to make these improvements and by the close of June, 1875, the Atlantic & Pacific is said to have expended over \$300,000 in making surveys. The outcome of the situation was serious financial trouble that wrecked the combination. On July 14th, 1875, the Missouri Pacific defaulted the interest on \$700,000 of its bonds, which had been issued in February, 1865, went into involuntary bankruptcy and

* Bancroft says that the Central Pacific Management by getting these substitute railroad projects before the people of California were indirectly the means of defeating the original plan. A transcontinental route financed by the people of San Francisco and St. Louis would of course have been contrary to the interests of the Central Pacific Company, whose line ran East from San Francisco and connected with the Union Pacific near Salt Lake.

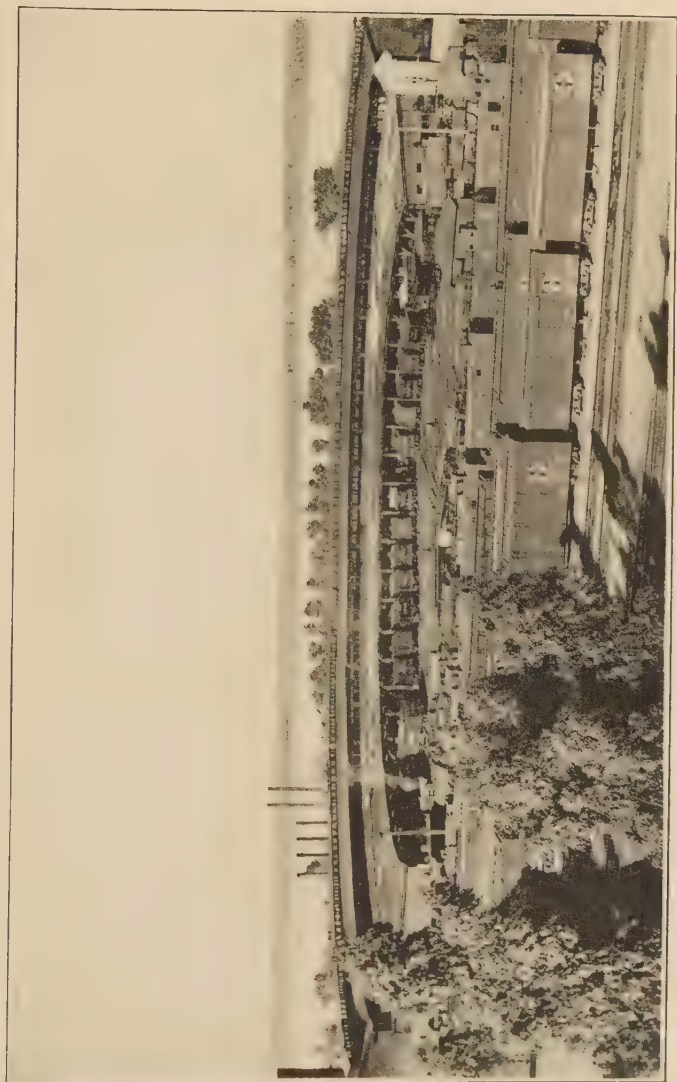
was placed in the hands of a receiver. At about the same time the Atlantic & Pacific defaulted the interest on its own bonds. It claimed that it had been operating the Missouri Pacific at a heavy loss due to the large sums needed for developing the property, and now proposed issuing, as a matter of expediency, a new Missouri Pacific 3rd mortgage of \$1,854,000. St. Louis County then brought action in the United States Circuit Court to foreclose a second mortgage on the property of the Atlantic & Pacific in which it seems the county had invested money and on the 3rd of April, 1876, the Court ordered the Missouri Pacific and the Atlantic & Pacific railroads separated and appointed receivers for each property. This was done, and freed from the merger, the Missouri Pacific now drops out of the narrative.⁴ So far the efforts of the Atlantic & Pacific Company to develop a big railroad system had been a dismal failure. Since Congress had not made arrangements for organizing and colonizing the Indian Territory, it had seemed unwise to extend the line west of Vinita. And for the same reason there was practically no demand for the Company lands in the Territory. The idea of building to the Pacific Coast now seemed wholly out of question.

On June 7th the Circuit Court entered a decree of foreclosure and instructed the receivers to sell the road. Both the South Pacific, which was under a first mortgage, and the Atlantic & Pacific under a second mortgage lien were to be sold together as a whole. Prompted by a desire to protect their investments, a small meeting of the Atlantic & Pacific bondholders met in New York and decided if possible to reorganize the Missouri Division of the property after the foreclosure had taken place. Accordingly, a committee con-

⁴ Within a few years it became, as is well known, a large and important railroad, one of the leading members of the so-called Gould combination.

sisting of Andrew Pierce, Joseph Seligman, James D. Fish, Wm. H. Coffin, and J. P. Robinson, was appointed to buy the road for the benefit of the bondholders and form another company. This action led to the organization on September 11th, 1876, of a new corporation, the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Company. The property had been sold in foreclosure on the 8th for \$450,000, the sale including 293 miles of road from Pacific City, near St. Louis to the southwestern boundary of Missouri, together with all equipment that belonged to the railroad. The purchase was made by W. F. Buckley, who represented the controlling financial interests; he also acquired the land grant for \$50,000, which was sold as a separate parcel in the same foreclosure. The sale did not include the 28 miles of road from Seneca on the state line to Vinita, Indian Territory, known as the Central Division, since that portion of the road was covered by another mortgage. But the new corporation arranged to use this line, and it was planned to build into St. Louis and extend the road westward through the Territory as fast as possible. Thus from the old Atlantic & Pacific there evolved the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Company with which company the Santa Fe agreed on December 6th, 1879, to co-operate for the purpose of building a line over the 35th parallel to California, under the terms of the original Atlantic & Pacific charter of 1866.

This alliance was effected for strategic as well as economical reasons. The Santa Fe line it will be observed was then nearing Albuquerque; while the St. Louis & San Francisco which as yet only reached Vinita, Indian Territory, had passed under the control of a group of financiers who planned to build their road first to Wichita, Kansas. Both companies were bent upon constructing or getting control of a line to the Pacific Coast. The Santa Fe had its road



ROUND HILL SE, NEEDLES, CALIFORNIA
COLORADO RIVER IN THE BACKGROUND

practically completed from Wichita to Albuquerque. The St. Louis & San Francisco would soon extend its line to Wichita, and it contemplated building from Pacific City into St. Louis at an early date. The latter company had succeeded to the Atlantic & Pacific land grant and franchises conferred by the Federal charter of 1866. Thus the two companies decided to combine their resources and coöperate in building a main line from Albuquerque to California. The new road which would be known as the Western Division of the Atlantic & Pacific was to be constructed under the original Atlantic & Pacific charter. The project when realized would give a new and continuous railroad route from the Mississippi river to the Pacific Coast.

January 31st, 1880, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe and the St. Louis & San Francisco Companies entered into two agreements for the prosecution of this enterprise. By the terms of the first, which was preliminary to the second, the Atchison Company acquired without cost to it, one-half of the capital stock and a joint and equal control of the Atlantic & Pacific Company. Both the Santa Fe and the St. Louis Companies were then to convey their shares to three trustees who would hold them and manage in the common interest.

The second part of the arrangement was a tripartite agreement whose terms, in brief, were as follows: (1) As thus constituted, the Atlantic & Pacific company was to begin and complete the Western Division as soon as practicable; and this line when finished was to be operated jointly by the Santa Fe and Frisco⁵ companies as a continuous through line to and from the Mississippi and Missouri rivers

⁵ Throughout the Middle and Southwest the St. Louis & San Francisco is known as the "Frisco," which abbreviated name, for convenience, will now be used synonymously with the full name of the Company.

and the Pacific coast. (2) In order to construct its Western Division the Atlantic & Pacific company was to issue first mortgage bonds upon all its Western Division property and franchises at a rate not exceeding \$25,000 per mile; and non-cumulative, income bonds,⁶ at not more than \$18,750 per mile. The Atchison and the St. Louis Companies each had a right to dispose of one-half of the foregoing securities and the funds thus raised were to be used in constructing, equipping, maintaining, and operating the Western Division, and in meeting interest obligations on bonds maturing before the road was completed. (3) When the Central Division of the Atlantic & Pacific road was built—from Vinita through the Indian Territory—both the Santa Fe and the St. Louis & San Francisco Companies were to furnish one-half the cost and enjoy one-half the profits accruing from the enterprise. (4) No new lines were to be built in Kansas except by mutual consent, with joint ownership and joint cost. (5) The lines of the two railroads were to connect at Wichita—afterwards changed to Halstead—Kansas. (6) For thirty years, all business to and from the Western Division of the Atlantic & Pacific was to pass over the Atchison road between the Rio Grande river and Wichita; from Wichita all St. Louis business was to go over the Frisco and all Chicago business should be routed over the Santa Fe lines to the Missouri River. (7) The interest on the Atlantic & Pacific first mortgage bonds would be paid as a part of the cost of construction until one year after the road was opened to the Coast. Then, if net earnings were not enough to meet such interest charges, each company was to contribute in equal proportion

⁶ That is, bonds which are obligated to pay interest only when earnings are sufficient to justify it; and which interest does not become an indebtedness and thereby accumulate during years when the earnings are too low to warrant payment.

to make up the deficiency, but this amount need not exceed 25 per cent. of the gross earnings each road received upon the business interchanged with the Western Division. And finally, (8) it was agreed that the proceeds of the Atlantic & Pacific land grant should be used to pay the interest and bonded indebtedness of that company.

The new Atlantic & Pacific Company, it should be observed, was a mere creation of the Atchison and the St. Louis corporations, a figure-head, under which they united to construct a costly and difficult piece of railroad through the mountains and across the deserts of Western New Mexico and Arizona. Thomas Nickerson of the Atchison was chosen president of the Atlantic & Pacific with E. F. Winslow of the Frisco group as representatives of both interests. To provide the immediate means for the construction and equipment of the road westward from the Rio Grande to the Colorado river—about 600 miles—a cash subscription of \$10,000,000 was promptly raised by the Santa Fe and Frisco stockholders, \$5,000,000 from each group. The loan was secured by a first mortgage of 6 per cent. 30-year sinking fund gold bonds, guaranteed by both companies according to the tripartite agreement. It was this arrangement to which President Nickerson had referred in his annual report from which quotation has been made.

Construction began in the late spring or early summer of 1880. By October, a fifty-mile stretch had been completed and in accordance with the charter of 1866, application was made to the Federal Government for the lands that were granted for each fifty miles as the road was built. This raised an interesting legal question touching the right of the Atlantic & Pacific Company to receive public lands, as it will be recalled that the Act of Incorporation had stipulated that the railroad must be finished and in operation by July

4th, 1878; otherwise the government reserved the right to carry out the enterprise. On applying for Federal commissioners to examine the newly constructed line that the Company might receive its land, the legality of this question was submitted to the Attorney General of the United States who decided on October 28th, that since the Act of Congress organizing the Atlantic & Pacific Company did not expressly provide a forfeiture of the lands granted, the Company could therefore claim the lands thus granted, whenever earned, unless Congress should by special legislation reserve the right to take possession of the road and complete its construction as provided in the original act. Acting upon this decision, three commissioners were appointed on October 28th, following which the work was duly inspected and accepted. The lands were granted as each fifty-mile section was completed and the road progressed steadily.

The work had started at Isleta, a point twelve miles below Albuquerque, where the Santa Fe main line crosses the Rio Grande. By February, 1881, it was reported that 100 miles of track had been laid, with 80 miles in operation. The following June it had advanced 160 miles from Albuquerque and was nearing Fort Wingate. The enterprise was pushed with vigor under the direction of Lewis Kingman, one of the best engineers in the Santa Fe service. At one time during these operations it is said that 800 carloads of rails stood ready for distribution at Bacon Springs, an outpost on the line. Construction trains were moving the various materials to the front as fast as needed. In July, 1881, the company certified to the Government that 200 miles had been completed.

During the month of September it was planned to raise \$15,000,000 of additional funds of which amount \$10,000,000 would be used to push the line from the Colorado River

through California to San Francisco, and \$5,000,000 to build through Indian Territory from Vinita. Some delay had just been experienced due to Indians and floods, but 236 miles of track had already been laid and the road was well into Arizona. At a meeting of the Atlantic & Pacific directors in December the financial plan just outlined was formally endorsed and it was decided to rush construction from the Colorado River at or near the Needles⁷ to San Francisco. Purchases of ties and rails for this division were reported and the construction of 62 miles of the Central Division, west from Vinita, was authorized.

In accordance with this plan a financial circular was issued in January, 1882, calling for subscriptions to the amount of \$16,500,000 with which to complete the road. Of the approximate 600 miles from the Rio Grande to the Colorado, for which \$10,000,000 had been raised in the spring of 1880, 300 miles had been completed, and all was under contract. Of the unfinished portion, 150 miles were graded, and track was being laid at the rate of one mile per day. Early in February, the Atchison stockholders were notified that "owing to changes going on in the ownership of the stock of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad company" it seemed best to suspend the sale of the new issue of securities. On further deliberation, however, the Atchison directorate decided not to delay and to raise the funds as already planned, but an interesting situation was ere long to develop. The Southern Pacific had taken a hand in the game.

In January, Collis P. Huntington and Jay Gould had gained a controlling interest of the St. Louis & San Fran-

⁷ A group of sharp-pointed mountain peaks near the crossing of the Colorado River in Southeastern California. A railroad town of the same name now stands near-by.

cisco Company through heavy purchases of its stock. Now Huntington, as everybody knows, dominated the Southern Pacific; while Gould had acquired control and was now president of the Texas & Pacific. These roads even then extended from San Francisco to New Orleans. The Atlantic & Pacific, with the combined Santa Fe-St. Louis & San Francisco lines, obviously would form a directly competing railroad with that of the Huntington-Gould combination. Huntington, in particular, who is said to have conducted the negotiations leading to the purchase of the Frisco stock, was bent on keeping the Atlantic & Pacific out of California. To accomplish this purpose he therefore bought a majority of the shares of the \$25,000,000 capital stock of the St. Louis & San Francisco and turned one-half of the shares thus purchased over to Gould. By this bit of strategy Gould and Huntington of course gained places in the Atlantic & Pacific directorate to which they were promptly elected. This was embarrassing to the Santa Fe management who had gone to great trouble and expense to organize and build the Atlantic & Pacific. For by getting control of the St. Louis & San Francisco, Gould and Huntington had succeeded to the contracts which that company had made with the Santa Fe for building a line that was to rival their railroads, and the Santa Fe found itself in a sinister combination with its two greatest rivals.

On the 12th of July, 1881, William B. Strong had succeeded to the presidency of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe and though pitted against two of the best railroad strategists this country has known, Strong played the game with consummate skill. Though naturally a hard fighter who preferred open conflict, Strong quickly foresaw that a struggle with the powerful Southern Pacific-Texas Pacific alliance would be foolish and perhaps disastrous. While determined

to extend his line to the Pacific, Strong decided for the time to compromise. When, therefore, Huntington proposed—as was to be expected—that the Santa Fe abandon its plan to build into California and allow the Southern Pacific to construct a road from its main line at Mojave to the Colorado River, Strong accepted the proposition, and a conciliatory arrangement was concluded late in the winter of 1882. It was thereby agreed that the Southern Pacific build to the Colorado and there connect with the Atlantic & Pacific, as provided in the charter of 1866. The Southern Pacific agreed to devote 25 per cent. of the gross earnings on through business over the Atlantic & Pacific to the payment of the interest on A. & P. bonds, according to the original Santa Fe-Frisco agreement. The Atlantic & Pacific retained whatever rights it might possess to build through California. The Santa Fe was given a traffic outlet to San Francisco, and it was agreed to complete both the Atlantic & Pacific to the Needles and the new Southern Pacific extension from Mojave to the Needles without delay. Financially and strategically the Santa Fe gained by this scheme. Whereas, before Gould and Huntington interfered, arrangements had been made to raise \$16,500,000 to build the Atlantic & Pacific to the Golden Gate, with the California line eliminated, only \$6,500,000 was now needed to reach the Colorado River. Thus Strong gained a foothold on the very border of his enemy's country, at a comparatively small expense, and the financial resources of his Company were left unimpaired.

Construction had not been delayed by these operations. Before the end of May the end of the road was more than 300 miles west of the Rio Grande at the Canyon Diablo,⁸ which was crossed early in July by a \$250,000 steel viaduct,

⁸ A place of much interest to present day tourists.

525 feet long and 254 feet in height. Already the road was graded 180 miles beyond, and plans for a quarter of a million dollar bridge over the Colorado River had been perfected. On October 14th the Atlantic & Pacific had been constructed 405 miles, while the Southern Pacific likewise was building rapidly across the California desert to the Colorado. Building west from Vinita went slowly. In August, 1883, the track was at last completed and connection was made with the Southern Pacific at the Colorado, which was crossed successfully by means of a temporary bridge, and a new main line to Southern California—the present route of the Santa Fe—had been achieved.

But President Strong and the Boston capitalists who were financing the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe were keenly disappointed at having been blocked in their efforts to build into California. The Santa Fe had become a big railroad. With eastern terminals on the Missouri River it had been pushed more than 1200 miles through the Southwest, its farthest extension ending at nowhere in particular on the edge of the California desert. An outlet to the Pacific was needed; but for the time, at least, this looked impossible, except under such conditions as the Southern Pacific might impose since this railroad now blocked the way. Strong met the situation by a counter-move through Old Mexico.

Nearly three years before, in the autumn of 1879, some Boston financiers, representing the Santa Fe interests, had organized the Sonora Railway Company for the purpose of building a railroad from the American border through the Mexican state of Sonora to the Gulf of California. A liberal cash subsidy of \$11,270 in silver per mile, to be paid as the road was built, together with certain concessions were secured from the Mexican Government. Work was started at Guaymas in the year 1880 but was not hurried, and by No-

vember, 1881, the road was in operation only to Hermosillo on the Sonora River, 90 miles north. Now when in March of that same year the Santa Fe under the name of Rio Grande & Mexican Pacific had effected a junction with the Southern Pacific at Deming, New Mexico, it had been planned to continue the line directly south into Old Mexico. But inasmuch as the Southern Pacific Company made a satisfactory proposal offering the use of their tracks, an agreement was concluded subject to termination by either party on a two-year notice, whereby for a stipulated rental, the Santa Fe trains were allowed to use the Southern Pacific tracks from Deming to Benson, Arizona, 174 miles west.

On securing this two-year trackage agreement with the Southern Pacific the Santa Fe organized and in the summer of 1881 started building the New Mexico & Arizona railroad south and west toward Nogales about 90 miles distant, on the Mexican boundary. The New Mexico & Arizona was projected with a view of connecting eventually with the Sonora railroad, which move was thought to be of strategic importance. Funds for building the new road were supplied directly by the Santa Fe. By the close of 1881 the sum of \$1,300,000 had been spent upon the enterprise, which was now well under way.

Such therefore was the situation, when early in the year 1882 Collis P. Huntington induced Mr. Strong unwillingly to submit to a compromise agreement that for the time at least would prevent the Santa Fe from entering California and obtaining a seaport terminal. By its own line to Deming, by means of the Southern Pacific trackage agreement to Benson, and the New Mexico & Arizona now building, the Santa Fe had already arrived within striking distance of salt water. Within four weeks after Huntington had arranged to block the Atlantic & Pacific at the crossing

of the Colorado River, the Atchison Company formally acquired ⁹ the Sonora railroad. It therefore remained only to close a gap of some 250 miles between the southern end of the New Mexico & Arizona in lower Arizona and Sonora line near the Sonora river. Work on this section was now renewed with great energy and on October 25th, 1882, the Santa Fe tracks met at Nogales. A Pacific port had finally been reached at Guaymas, Mexico, and the long sought outlet to the ocean had at last been won. This achievement gave the interior of the United States a route to Australia 1400 miles shorter than from San Francisco; and with a main line 1700 miles in extent, the Santa Fe thus became the longest railroad in the world under a single management. But William B. Strong had even greater ambitions. He was determined to get into Southern California regardless of Huntington and the Southern Pacific. Already he had started a net-work of branch lines in Kansas. And far to the south of Kansas a port on the Gulf of Mexico might some day be desired. First as general manager and now as president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, Strong had won the united support of his directorate and the capitalists of Boston. The entire Southwest lay before him as a field of action. And Strong had Albert A. Robinson, one of the greatest of engineers, with an efficient corps of assistants, to carry out his aims. Great things were now to be accomplished.

⁹ *Commer. & Finan. Chron.*, March 18, 1882. This was done by the Atchison taking over the \$5,400,000 in stocks and \$4,050,000 7% gold bonds of the Sonora Company and guaranteeing the interest on the bonds and issuing its own stock at the rate of one share of Atchison in exchange for two shares of Sonora stock. The Atchison of course became the recipient of the Mexican subsidy as a result of this deal.

CHAPTER X

VIGOROUS EXPANSION

DURING these eventful years the aggressive activities of the Santa Fe Company had been by no means confined to the Grand Cañon war and the subsequent advance across New Mexico, Arizona and Northwestern Mexico. To the eastward, events less spectacular but of far-reaching importance had been likewise taking place. In the preceding chapter, reference was made to the construction of branch lines in Kansas. The Kansas City, Emporia & Southern, an extension south from Emporia, was commenced in April, 1879, and built through Eureka to the south line of Greenwood County, about 64 miles, by October 10th. From the county line the work was continued under the name of Elk & Chautauqua¹ railroad to Howard, 12 miles beyond, which town was reached December 31st.

The Cowley, Sumner & Fort Smith, a continuation of the

¹It should be borne in mind that practically all supplementary building activities of railroads are carried on under special charters and often under corporate names that bear no resemblance to that of the parent company. This is done mainly because the original charter of a railroad seldom is general enough in the privileges which it confers to anticipate the special and sometimes peculiar requirements of branch line construction, or extensions that were not specifically authorized. Again, because of litigation that is likely to occur through a possible misinterpretation of charter privileges with reference to extensions and the securing of special franchises, it is highly desirable to incorporate especially for the construction of branches and extensions which may be, and usually are, absorbed by the main company when the work is finished. This policy in general makes for the highest efficiency and economy.

Wichita & Southwestern, was started from Wichita on May 1st, 1879. The road was built first to Mulvane, 16 miles southeast, where it divided. From Mulvane, one stem completed September 15th, went southwest 18 miles to Wellington, whence two branches were started, one 25 miles south to Caldwell which was reached in September 1880; the other branch was started west to the county line under the name of the Wellington & Western railroad. The second main division leading out of Mulvane went southeast 23 miles to Winfield and then due south 12 miles to Arkansas City near the border of Indian Territory. The road was opened for traffic from Wichita to Arkansas City on December 31st, 1879. Now but a few miles from the Territory and headed toward Texas, this branch was soon to blend into a main line of much importance.

While these branches were being constructed in the southern part of the state a line known as the Marion & McPherson branch was building due west from Florence in Central Kansas. Beginning May 1st, the road was constructed 47 miles to McPherson by September 29th, 1879. Still another branch, the Manhattan, Alma & Burlingame, 57 miles in length, was built that same summer by the Santa Fe and Union Pacific companies to connect their respective main lines between Manhattan and Burlingame.

In the early autumn of 1880 the Santa Fe purchased the Kansas City, Lawrence & Southern railroad, a small independent system in Southern Kansas having a total of 365 miles of main track and branches. The road comprised two stems, one extending from Lawrence due south to Coffeyville near the state line; while the other portion branched from the Coffeyville division at Cherryvale in southern Kansas and ran in a westerly direction through Winfield and Wellington to the town of Harper. There were two

branches: one from Wellington to Hunnewell on the Indian Territory border; and another running southeast from Olathe through Ottawa to the town of Burlington. For this group of lines the Atchison company paid \$3,743,000 in its own 5 per cent. 40-year bonds, receiving therefor the securities of the Southern Kansas company in an even exchange, dollar for dollar. The sale was made in the name of the Kansas City, Topeka & Western, the auxiliary company by which the Santa Fe had gained access to Kansas City back in 1875.

The Southern Kansas Railway system developed from the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Fort Gibson Railroad company, which was incorporated under the original Santa Fe land grant of 1863, the main terms of which were indicated in the second chapter. In addition to the public lands appropriated by this act, the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Fort Gibson company was aided by a land donation under the terms of a bill passed by Congress and approved Sept. 4th, 1841, "An Act to approve the sales of public lands and to grant preëmption rights." Section 8 of this law provided for a grant of 500,000 acres of lands to certain states ² and to each state hereafter to be admitted to the Union, the lands to be sold at not less than \$1.25 per acre and the proceeds to be devoted by the various states to internal improvements. The lands so designated in Kansas were especially selected by three commissioners in 1864. By an act approved February 23rd, 1866, the Kansas legislature after a stormy debate granted this 500,000 acres equally to four railroad companies one of which was the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Fort Gibson. In addition to this aid of 125,000

²The states especially enumerated in the bill were Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Michigan.

acres, the road actually received 62,509.41 acres under the provisions of the Act of March 3rd, 1863.

On date of February 24th, 1866, the name of the corporation was changed to the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston Railroad company. This company built the line from Lawrence to Coffeyville, about 142 miles, which was opened for traffic August 28th, 1871. Getting into financial troubles the road was finally sold under foreclosure August 9th, 1878, and reorganized as the Lawrence & Galveston Railroad company. On April 1st, 1879, the Lawrence & Galveston consolidated with the Kansas City & Santa Fe and the Southern Kansas railroad companies. The former corporation was organized March 25th, 1868, and by 1871 had built 32 miles of road from Ottawa to Olathe, which line was then leased to the Leavenworth, Lawrence & Galveston. The Southern Kansas had only a ten-mile stretch of track from Cherryvale to Independence. With this consolidation the roads thus named took the corporate name of Kansas City, Lawrence & Southern Railroad Company. The extension from Cherryvale to Independence was at once pushed through to Harper, a distance of about 149 miles, and the Hunnewell branch, 18 miles in length, was likewise built and opened for traffic in 1880. Such in brief is the history of the Southern Kansas railroad as acquired by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe on December 16th, 1880.

The Santa Fe directors made this acquisition largely for self-protection. Since the Southern Kansas lines lay directly within Santa Fe "territory" in Kansas it was felt that this property if in the hands of an unfriendly competitor might be used to make dangerous inroads upon Santa Fe business. The directors further believed, incidentally, that the Southern Kansas under good management would prove a valuable property, and in this they were fully justified. For the

road passed through excellent farm lands which have made splendid development; while valuable deposits of gas, petroleum and coal, since discovered, have made this region one of the richest sections served by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad. And finally since it traversed Eastern and Southern Kansas the acquisition of the Southern Kansas lines did much to round out the Santa Fe system in Kansas and to strengthen its position and influence.

Besides purchasing the Southern Kansas, the Santa Fe in 1880 constructed over 400 miles of railroad which included branches from McPherson, Wellington and Manhattan, Kansas, a spur from Pueblo, Colorado, to the Cañon coal fields, and lines in New Mexico which already have been described.

In the spring of 1881 work on the Florence, El Dorado and Walnut Valley extension south from El Dorado, Kansas, was begun. As the road approached Augusta, a neighboring town, an election was held in which several townships voted railroad bonds with enthusiasm. Considerably wrought up over the prospect of getting a railroad, the Southern Kansas *Gazette* of Augusta came out with an inspiring editorial headed:

Another Boom. Bonds Carry All Along the Line. "God made the country, and man made the cities," and one of the greatest helps in developing the country and assisting man in building large and magnificent cities is the railroad. Communities cry for them as children cry for sweetmeats; people buy them with bonds, as anxiously and readily as children spend their pennies for candy. Without railroads farm lands are valueless, cities and towns sink into ruin and oblivion, while their neighbors, who are blest with these roads, enjoy the pleasures of life and realize that their property has a fixed value, readily convertible into cash.

Desiring all reasonable and attainable facilities for the trans-

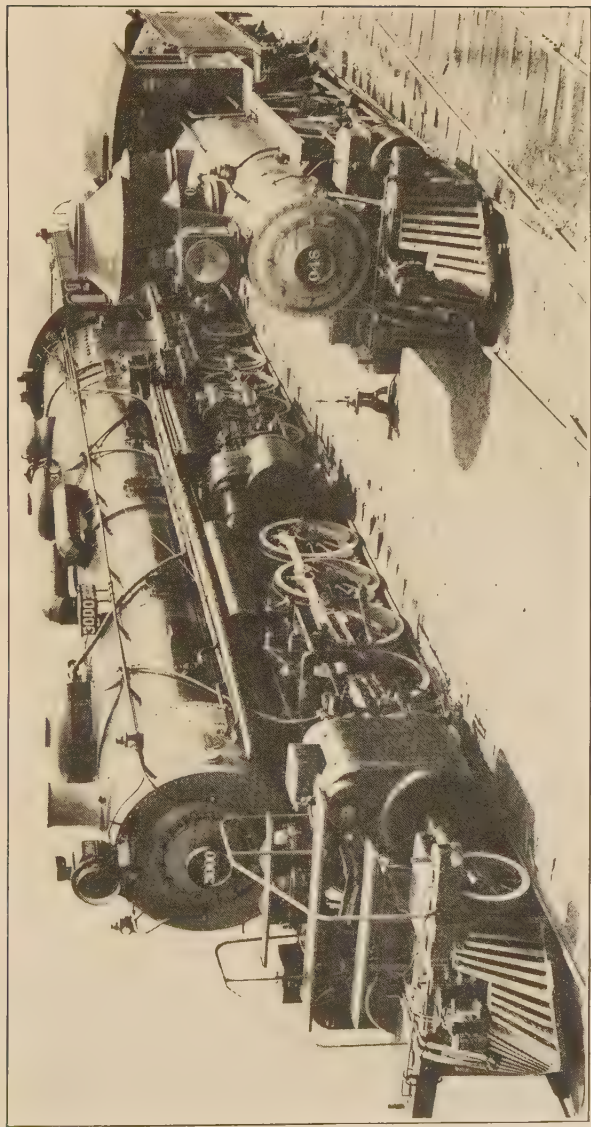
action of business; and all possible auxiliaries for the development, growth and prosperity of our county and cities, the people of August, Walnut, and Douglass townships have voted the aid asked by the A. T. & S. F. company (\$40,000) for the extension of the Walnut Valley branch through their respective townships. The road will be completed by August 1st and the building thereof will furnish employment for a large number of men at good wages for ninety days. Augusta will be the contractors' headquarters. Here the supplies will be purchased and all the general business relating to the construction of the road transacted. . . . This in connection with the present boom in building and general business will make our city the liveliest town in the State. It is useless at this time to refer to the benefits to be derived from the completion of the road. Suffice it to say that no town in the state will have the advantage of us, and that with our magnificent farming country to back us up, Augusta will soon take rank among the most important cities of the State.

While it is to be feared that Augusta has never realized these high ambitions, this sentiment fairly typified the extravagant hopes with which the prairie towns welcomed an approaching railroad.

Late in the summer as the line reached Douglass, a tiny hamlet eleven miles south of Augusta, a welcoming celebration was planned. The local paper has left an interesting description of the affair, a part of which account follows:

As soon as it became evident that the efforts of the A. T. & S. F. R. R. Company to complete the branch road to Douglass by the first of August would be a success the people of our town determined to celebrate in honor of the event, and at once directed their efforts to pleasantly entertain all that might be with us on the day chosen for the occasion.

Tuesday, August 2nd, was the day of merriment, and no atmosphere more pure ever existed and no brighter sun ever rose in its grandeur to light the course of a happy people than Tuesday's sun, which being unclouded during the whole day imparted intense heat that at midday was a little uncomfortable



SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STEAM ENGINE

to endure, but the splendor of the day is not often surpassed. . . . The Railroad Company not forgetful in attributing to the people's pleasure, kindly gave a free excursion from El Dorado and return. The cars were prepared and kept in readiness at El Dorado, and early Tuesday morning the people began to gather at the depot from every direction. At eight o'clock the train started with about fifteen hundred persons aboard, and those desiring were permitted to join the crowd on the road until the number was swelled to probably two thousand people when the train arrived at Douglass. Waiting the arrival of the train were perhaps as many more making in all some four thousand people assembled at Douglass to view the growing town, observe the surrounding country, listen to the orators of the day, meet friends and have a good time in general. For some reason the orators of the day were not present, but their places were ably filled by Messrs. E. N. Smith and A. L. Redden, of El Dorado, and others. The El Dorado band furnished the music and the program was carried out apparently to the satisfaction of all.

At two o'clock the new store building of J. M. Wilson was occupied by the young people who engaged in dancing until a later hour. At night Lowe's Hall was opened for a ball and was completely filled by those that like to assemble where the merriment of the young goes on.

At four o'clock the excursion train returned to El Dorado, when those that desired were permitted to go as far as Augusta and return on the evening train.

All day the different places of business were a scene of life, and it was the beginning of a new era for our men of trade, the incentive to action long needed, the dispeller of discouragement long felt. No act of turbulence, no flagitious scene marred the pleasure of the things of people from whose faces there radiated the expression of joy. And Douglass realized a day long looked for—not soon to be forgotten.

Such was a typical celebration of the day when the railroad came to town.

Construction for the year 1881 aggregated nearly 257 miles, comprising an extension of the Marion & McPherson

branch from Lyons to Ellinwood, about 20 miles; the Florence, El Dorado and Walnut Valley extended from El Dorado to Douglass, 24 miles, and the Harvey County railroad, Sedgwick to Halstead, Kansas, 9 miles in length. These branches were completed to the points named, on September 1st, August 1st, and December 31st, respectively. In addition there were the lines in the Southwest already described: the Rio Grande, Mexico & Pacific from San Marcial to Deming, and Rincon to the Texas boundary; the Rio Grande & El Paso railroad in Texas from the New Mexico line, 20 miles to El Paso; the New Mexico and Arizona of which about 18 miles were finished in 1881; and a short spur of about 7 miles from Raton to the coal mines at Dillon in northern New Mexico.

The following year about 124 miles were added. This increase included a 14-mile track from Olathe to connect the Southern Kansas system with the main line at Holliday, with the remainder in New Mexico and Arizona. Also, in the summer of 1882 the Santa Fe purchased a controlling interest in the Leavenworth, Topeka & Southwestern, commonly known as the "Leavenworth & Topeka," a line about 46 miles in length running from Meriden to Leavenworth, Kansas. At the end of 1882 the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe system comprised 2,620 miles of railroad, located in Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Arizona and Sonora, Mexico. The total earnings were over \$14,770,000—an increase of nearly \$2,200,000 over the preceding year. The net earnings were more than \$6,000,000 of which the Southern Kansas produced over \$600,000. The Company now represented a permanent investment of more than \$82,000,000 in stocks and bonds and was in an excellent financial condition with no floating debts. To handle the

growing traffic of the road 97 locomotives and 611 cars were added to the Santa Fe's equipment that year.

In his annual report for 1882 President Strong said: "Thirteen years ago the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad, a line then 28 miles in length under the same general direction which now governs its affairs, asked the confidence and support of the Massachusetts public ³ in the execution of the projects it contemplated. Through good and evil times that support has always been readily given and that confidence has never been broken; and as a result those who have followed the fortunes of the company have shared in its prosperity."

What the future plans of the company might be, Strong said must largely depend upon the policy pursued by the road's competitors. He assured the stockholders that every prudent measure would be taken "to preserve the property in its integrity." It is doubtless quite apparent by this time that Strong's method of preserving the integrity of his company's property was that of vigorous expansion and while wonderful progress had been made in thirteen years, the railroad was as yet only started upon its future great development.

In July, 1883, the Ottawa and Burlington railroad, extending 46 miles from near Ottawa to Burlington, a road incorporated on February 4th, 1870, as the Kansas City, Burlington & Santa Fe and opened for traffic March 28th, 1878, was consolidated with the Southern Kansas system. In 1883-1884 several branches were added to the Southern Kansas railroad as follows: By the Kansas City & Emporia company, chartered December 11th, 1880, from Ottawa to

³ The Santa Fe railroad was financed and down to 1889 controlled largely by Boston capitalists.

Emporia, 56 miles, opened February 1st, 1884. This road connected the Southern Kansas system with the Santa Fe main line at Emporia and is to-day a part of the double-tracked through main line from Kansas City to Emporia. Other construction during this period was by the Kansas Southern, chartered February 15th, 1884, from Chanute to Girard, about 40 miles, and opened at the end of that year; and by the Harper & Western, chartered July 1st, 1884, from Harper to Attica, nearly 12 miles, and opened November 10th, 1884. The Girard branch tapped the best coal fields in Kansas and has since become one of the most valuable feeders in the Santa Fe system; while the Harper branch was soon to be extended into a main line. These branches so interwove the Southern Kansas lines with those of the Santa Fe company that in 1884 the accounts of the two systems were amalgamated and the Southern Kansas henceforth became in reality only a corporate name to designate a certain group of Santa Fe lines. During this same year the Atchison management purchased, likewise through the Kansas City, Topeka & Western, a half interest in the Kansas City Belt Line railway, which was made necessary by the heavy growth of business and the need of better terminal facilities in Kansas City. The Belt Line was constructed in 1885-1886 and proved a valuable asset to the company. Other construction finished during this period was the Wichita & Western, from Wichita to Kingman, about 45 miles, constructed jointly by the Atchison and the St. Louis & San Francisco companies; and the Lake Valley, Magdalena and Silver City branches in New Mexico. About 250 miles were added by purchase or construction in Kansas and New Mexico in the years 1883 and 1884. The long-expected entrance of California was now at hand.

With the completion on July 29th, 1884, of a large and

permanent bridge over the Colorado river at the Needles, California, through passenger trains with sleeping car service were at once established without change or transfer between San Francisco and Kansas City. The line is said to have been in good condition for the handling of transcontinental passenger and freight business; yet a serious dilemma now confronted the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, for there was little or no traffic for the Atlantic & Pacific road. Extending for hundreds of miles through a wholly undeveloped country, much of it desert waste, local business could not be expected until mineral deposits and occasional tracts of timber could be exploited. While a large amount of through traffic should have been passing over this line it is claimed that the Southern Pacific persistently diverted such traffic over its central and southern routes through Ogden and El Paso. In building the Atlantic & Pacific through to the Needles title had been secured to some 14,000,000 acres of land worth on an average about fifty cents per acre. The St. Louis & San Francisco was again free from Southern Pacific influence and ready to act on its own initiative. Some definite plan must be determined in order to relieve this situation and in the summer of 1884 several courses of procedure were open. One was to do nothing. The Santa Fe & Frisco companies might continue to endure the existing situation and keep the Atlantic & Pacific company solvent by their pocketing a heavy loss on the money already invested. In that case they would submit to fixed charges of at least \$1,000,000 per year of which each company must furnish half for an indefinite time without prospect of any proportionate financial returns. Obviously this was intolerable.

Another alternative scarcely more desirable was to abandon the Atlantic & Pacific and renounce, perhaps forever,

the prospect of getting into California. For William B. Strong and the Atchison directorate this idea was repugnant, since they were determined to gain a foothold in California. Such a plan, furthermore, would allow the Atlantic & Pacific to become insolvent and inflict heavy loss upon security-holders who had advanced money to aid the enterprise, with the understanding that the road would be built and maintained. In such event, the Southern Pacific would naturally gain instant possession of the abandoned road and thereby perhaps invade Atchison territory in New Mexico, Colorado and Kansas.

A third and boldly aggressive proposition was to parallel the Southern Pacific by constructing an entirely new line more than 600 miles from Needles to San Francisco. While physically possible such a project seemed at that time unwise, because of the great expense not only in building the road but in securing terminals in the metropolis. Evidently fearing that Strong might do this, however, Huntington now came forward with another compromise. This time he offered to sell the so-called Mojave Division which his company had built from Mojave to the Needles to connect with the Atlantic & Pacific the year before. Huntington, to be sure, charged a good price; he built railroads for profit—but he made certain concessions that could scarcely be refused. Hence the fourth and most desirable alternative, the purchase of the Mojave line, was accepted and in fulfillment of this joint purchase four written instruments were drawn up and ratified by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, St. Louis & San Francisco, and Southern Pacific companies on August 20th, 1884.

By the first of these instruments, the Atlantic & Pacific Company bought the Southern Pacific road between Mojave and the Needles, 242 miles for \$30,000 per mile. Due to

minor technicalities a title to this road could not be given at once ⁴ and until such title could be rendered, the road was to be leased to the Atlantic & Pacific at yearly rental equal to 6% on the purchase price. When title could be given, payment was to be made, one-sixth in cash and the remainder in cash or in Atlantic & Pacific first mortgage bonds, the bonds as well as rental to be guaranteed jointly by the Atchison and Frisco Companies.

By the second instrument, the Atlantic & Pacific secured trackage and traffic rights between Mojave and San Francisco Bay, together with terminal facilities in Oakland and San Francisco. On twelve months' notice at its own option the Atlantic & Pacific could make use of this privilege and run its trains between Mojave and San Francisco by paying an annual rental of \$1200 per mile; and its rights under this agreement were to pass to the Atchison and the St. Louis Companies, or to either in case one of them should succeed to the rights of the Atlantic & Pacific under the contract of purchase and lease of the road from Needles to Mojave.

Thirdly, it was agreed that the Atchison and St. Louis Companies buy of the Southern Pacific through its subsidiary, the Pacific Improvement Company, Atlantic & Pacific securities of \$3,096,768 par value, but at the real cost of \$1,524,356.46 the price actually paid for the securities. In other words, the Pacific Improvement Company was the corporation which the Southern Pacific had organized to build the Mojave Division and through this subsidiary, the parent company had bought Atlantic & Pacific stocks and bonds worth at par \$3,096,768, but at an actual selling price of \$1,524,356.46. Hence as a partial offset for these concessions, Huntington unloaded a batch of undesirable rail-

⁴ This was on account of a Southern Pacific mortgage that could not be discharged until 1905.

road securities upon the Santa Fe and Frisco Companies.

The fourth and last instrument simply amended the tripartite agreement of 1880 by explaining clauses of doubtful meaning and adding others, so adapting the agreement to an altered state of facts as to carry out its object and original purpose.

This arrangement with its terms of purchase became operative October 1st, 1884, on which date the Mojave Division was taken over by the Atlantic & Pacific, whence it was eventually to become an integral part of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe system.

While gratified in having at last secured a line into California, the Santa Fe management wisely believed that the purchase of the Mojave Division would depend for success upon an independent connection with the Pacific Coast, an outlet that could not be impaired or interrupted by the Southern Pacific. It was first determined to build a branch from some convenient point on the line between the Needles and Mojave to San Bernardino, where a junction would be made with the California Southern, a local railroad that had made considerable development and the possession of which was to give the Santa Fe a strong position in Southern California. The California Southern Railroad Company was chartered October 12th, 1880, for the purpose of constructing a line from National City at the lower end of San Diego Bay to San Bernardino. By a supplementary charter, the California Southern Extension Railroad Company was then incorporated, May 23rd, following, for the purpose of extending the California Southern to form a connection with the Atlantic and Pacific at a point some 80 miles northeast of San Bernardino. At that time, it will be remembered, the Atlantic & Pacific was projected through to San

Francisco, and the Southern Pacific had not yet interfered to block its operations at the Colorado River.

On December 28th, 1881, the two California companies consolidated under the name of the California Southern. Building operations moved steadily. The road was opened from National City to Colton on August 21st, 1882, and to San Bernardino on the 13th of September, 1883. The arrangement of January, 1882, whereby the Southern Pacific kept the Atlantic & Pacific out of California and proceeded to build its own line from the Mojave to the Needles was a serious blow to the California Southern. For the latter road had been constructed by Boston capital; it was headed by T. J. Coolidge, former President of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, and its management if not partially identified with the Santa Fe interests, was at least distinctly friendly. To get out of its isolation the California Southern had to establish a connection with some eastern line and it naturally had anticipated this opportunity when the Atlantic & Pacific was extended through Southern California. But with the only outlet in the hands of the unfriendly Southern Pacific the Southern would have been compelled to build about 250 miles across the desert to the Colorado instead of relying upon an 80-mile spur to Barstow as had been hoped. The road was financially unable to build the long extension and its development came to a standstill. In the winter of 1883-1884 a flood washed out about 30 miles of the California Southern tracks in the Temecula Cañon; even the bridges and ties were carried away. The road now found itself in trouble. Its finances were weak and to repair this damage would necessitate a relatively heavy outlay. The road traversed a region at that time but slightly developed and its revenues were small. Since it was and is yet the only railroad

to the port of San Diego, a good volume of through traffic might be had if only an eastern outlet could be obtained. But the Southern Pacific stood in the way. In July, 1884, the California Southern failed to pay the interest on \$2,784,000 of its first mortgage bonds. That same month a committee of the stockholders announced in a circular dated June 25th that while \$250,000 was needed to repair the line, only \$114,500 had been raised. It looked as if the company must either give up the repairs, which was equivalent to abandoning the road, or else make contracts for renewing the flood damage as best they could. In the latter case the laws of California would make the stockholders personally liable to the extent of their holdings in case the Company defaulted for sums due on such contracts. Matters thus stood in this perplexed situation when the Atchison-Frisco Companies secured control of the Mojave Division in August, 1884.

The Santa Fe, as we have seen, had been seriously contemplating the construction of a branch west from the Needles, as it felt it could not safely depend upon the Southern Pacific trackage agreement into San Francisco for a Pacific Coast outlet in California. The California Southern people now proposed that their road be extended from San Bernardino to the newly leased or purchased Mojave line, just as they had originally planned. They offered terms very favorable, both to the Atchison and the Atlantic and Pacific Companies. It was proposed first, that a road connecting San Bernardino with the Atlantic & Pacific at Barstow, 81 miles distant, be constructed as a part of the California Southern. To that end, the Southern offered to transfer one-half of its capital stock to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe without cost to the latter. It was further proposed that the first mortgage bondholders of the California Southern surrender their bonds in exchange for in-

come bonds and that a new mortgage of \$10,000 per mile be placed on the whole Southern road of 210 miles. From the proceeds thus raised, the Barstow extension could easily be constructed and the line in the Temecula Cañon replaced, leaving the \$5,000,000 of first mortgage California Southern bonds in the treasury to meet fixed charges and any financial contingencies that might arise before the road became self-sustaining. Since the owners of the California Southern were nearly unanimous in making this proposition the Atchison Company accepted the offer, which was promptly carried into effect. Work on the extension and the general rehabilitation of the Southern began at once. On November 9th, 1885, the line was completed and opened for business between San Bernardino, and the Santa Fe had secured its long sought California seaport, at San Diego. Meanwhile, on September 24th, the Santa Fe had leased a free and equal use of the Southern Pacific tracks between Colton and Los Angeles, and entrance to the metropolis of Southern California was thus secured as soon as through service was established into San Diego.

It was believed by the Atchison management that acquiring and completing the California Southern would accomplish two things: First, it would enable the Atlantic & Pacific to command a considerable portion of the fast increasing business of Southern California and it would give the Atchison a whip-hand over the Southern Pacific in California. If "existing arrangements" were disturbed by the Southern Pacific, the Santa Fe purposed to put on a line of coast-wise steamers between San Diego and San Francisco, thereby insuring to itself a reasonable share of the California business, regardless of Huntington. An outlet on San Diego Bay was of great potential importance. And secondly, President Strong rejoiced that in thus securing a

foothold in Southern California his Company could now say with absolute certainty that in making the Atlantic and Pacific railroad a through line to the Pacific Coast, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe had performed every legal contract and kept good faith with the public in redeeming its promises. But in still other ways did possession of the California Southern add to the power and importance of the Santa Fe railroad system. With a main line now more than 1,900 miles in length, extending from the Missouri River to San Diego Bay, together with a secondary outlet on the Gulf of California the general position of the Santa Fe was greatly strengthened. And again, the Santa Fe at once became an important factor in the wonderful development of Southern California, which region has for years been contributing a vast and increasing amount of through traffic worth millions of dollars annually. Getting into Southern California was a significant event in the history of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe.

All this expansion was in exact conformity with the vigorous policies of President Strong, which he summarized in his annual report for 1884 in these three sentences: "A railroad to be successful must also be a progressive institution. It cannot stand still, if it would. If it fails to advance, it must inevitably go backward and lose ground already occupied." At the end of the year 1878 the Santa Fe lines comprised only 868 miles with gross earnings less than \$4,000,000 and net earnings less than \$2,000,000. It had a funded debt of \$4,175,000 with \$8,615,000 of stock outstanding, which stock paid no dividends. Six years later, under the guidance of William B. Strong, the Santa Fe owned or controlled about 3,600 miles of railroad with gross earnings of nearly \$16,300,000 and net earnings of about \$7,315,000. In 1884 the Company represented a corporate in-

vestment of more than \$103,000,000—about \$46,000,000 in bonds and \$57,000,000 in stocks, which stocks now paid annual dividends of 6%. There were several reasons for this great prosperity and progress. The road was prudently financed and carefully managed. On about 2,800 miles of the Santa Fe lines proper the total capitalization was only \$38,576 per mile at the end of 1884. The Company had excellent credit and could borrow money at low rates of interest. The main line had been laid out with shrewd foresight in that it traversed for much of its length the fertile valleys of the Arkansas and Rio Grande Rivers. The disposal of the Company lands and the colonizing efforts of the Company had been of the greatest importance to the prosperity and growth of the railroad. And finally it was to the wonderful fertility of the Kansas prairies, which systematic colonizing and the building of branch lines developed into farm lands that made and will always continue to make the Santa Fe one of the greatest railroads of the country. The invasion of Texas was now to begin from two directions.

By an Act of Congress, approved July 4th, 1884, the Southern Kansas Railway Company had been granted the right to locate, construct, own, equip, and operate a railway, telegraph and telephone line through the Indian Territory, beginning at a point on the northern boundary of the Territory where an extension of the Southern Kansas railroad from Winfield in a southerly direction would strike the Territorial line, and thence running south in the direction of Dennison, Texas, by the most practicable route, to a point near the junction of the Washita and Red Rivers. The Act also authorized the construction of and equipment of a branch line from a point at or near where the main line should cross the Territorial border, the branch to run westerly along or near the northern boundary to a point at or

near where Medicine Lodge Creek crosses the border of the Territory and thence in a southwesterly direction, crossing Beaver Creek, at or near Camp Supply and reaching the west boundary of Indian Territory at or near its intersection with Wolf Creek. These respective routes are now followed rather closely by two Santa Fe main lines: the former extending through Central Oklahoma and Texas to the Gulf of Mexico; and the latter running across northwest Oklahoma and the Texas Panhandle to connect with the original transcontinental main line near Albuquerque, New Mexico.

The Congressional Act conferred no special favors. The railroad company was merely given the privilege to construct its line, with a right-of-way 100 feet in width and with an additional strip 200 feet long and 3000 feet in length every ten miles for stations. Wherever the right-of-way and station grounds lay within the limits of lands owned by individual Indians, the Company must make full compensation to the owners for land thus appropriated, before the line could be built. The new road might be taxed according to the will of Congress or the laws of any Territory or State henceforth to be formed in that region. Its freight rates could not exceed those authorized by the laws of Kansas and it could transport passengers at a rate not exceeding three cents per mile. The Company might locate its line immediately after the act was passed. At least 100 miles of the railroad must be built in the Territory within three years after the passage of the act or the grant would be forfeited as to all portions of the line not built.

Acting under the provisions of this law the Company by the close of 1885 had located over 350 miles, which included the main line running south from Arkansas City and the branch extending southwest from Kiowa, Kansas. To fa-

cilitate work on the latter extension, a spur was built from Attica to Kiowa on the state boundary about 22 miles, which road was opened January 11th, 1886. To finance the construction and equipment of this 350 miles or more of railroad it was decided to issue first mortgage 5% 40-year gold bonds of the Southern Kansas Railway Company at the rate of \$16,000 per mile on the road and rolling stock with additional provision for an issue of income bonds at the rate of \$4,000 per mile if needed. It was soon decided to build about 150 miles south from Arkansas City and connect with the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe, a Texas railroad that was building northward. From Kiowa the road was definitely projected southwesterly across Indian Territory into the heart of the cattle country in the Texas Panhandle. In 1886 construction was accordingly begun from Arkansas City and Kiowa, 69 miles being finished that year. Being now well under way the work was rushed to completion. Building south, the road was completed 154 miles to an intersection with the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe on April 26th and turned over to the operating department, June 12th, 1887. From Kiowa the line was finished 116 miles to the west boundary of Indian Territory on September 12th. Pushing on into Texas about 100 miles farther the road reached Panhandle City at the close of the year. Strong had acted decisively under the provisions of the Congressional Act of 1884. Within a little more than three years after the Act was passed he had driven two roads south and southwest from the Kansas border for a total distance of 370 miles of which mileage about 300 was constructed in 1887.

Meanwhile another acquisition of the greatest importance had been made. In May, 1886, the Atchison Company purchased the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railroad, which as mentioned had been building northward to meet the Southern

Kansas extension in Indian Territory. This purchase added several hundred miles to the Santa Fe system, which was now expanding at a marvelous rate.

The Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railway Company was chartered under the laws of Texas, May 28th, 1873. The road is said to have come into existence as the result of a town row between Galveston and Houston. A story runs to the effect that back in the Sixties when there were but few railroads in Texas, these towns were connected by only a single line, the Galveston, Houston & Henderson. During the late Sixties and early Seventies a mild epidemic of yellow fever is reported to have occurred each summer along the coast of Texas. The story further goes on to say that whenever it was rumored that the fever had reappeared, the business interests of Houston would promptly get a quarantine declared upon all passenger and freight traffic from Galveston to their city. This action of course prevented Galveston merchants from selling goods up-state, leaving practically all of eastern Texas for the wholesalers of Houston. It was to avoid this unprofitable situation in which a rival town was getting more than its share of business, that the business men of Galveston are said to have incorporated the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Company. It was planned to construct the railroad north and west from Galveston with Santa Fe, New Mexico, as a final goal. Whether or not the literal details of this tale are true, they are not improbable. And the railroad was promoted, financed and, until sold to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, it was operated mainly by Galveston citizens. Likewise it was built north and west from Galveston for more than 200 miles in the direction of Santa Fe.

The Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe railroad actually started building in May, 1875. Being financed, it seems, wholly

by local interests, progress was at first slow. Not until 1877 did the main line reach Arcola from Galveston, 43 miles; it took about a year longer to build into Richmond, 21 miles farther. On the 15th of April, 1879, the road was sold under foreclosure, under a trust deed for \$250,000, which had been given to secure a loan. The property was bought by a George Sealy, trustee under the deed; Sealy acted for a syndicate of Galveston merchants who had made the loan. At the time of this sale notice was given that a contract had been made for extending the railroad, practically all of the stock of which was still owned in Galveston County. In the Act incorporating the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe, the State of Texas had entitled the Company to a land grant of 16 sections ⁵ for each mile of road built. In the autumn of 1879 some difficulty arose. A freshet carried away the bridge over the Brazos River and the Governor of the State refused to grant land certificates on the ground that there was not a continuous line of railroad as required by law. The Company engineers, however, soon replaced the bridge, after which the lands seem to have been duly awarded as earned.

The reorganized Company completed the line to Brenham, 126 miles, on August 1st, 1880; and to Belton, about 220 miles from Galveston, in the month of February, 1881. A branch to Fort Worth, 128 miles, was completed and ready for business December 8th, 1881. On the 15th of May following another branch, 56 miles in length, had been finished to Lampasas. The Eastern branch, which had been the Central and Montgomery Railroad, was purchased and put into operation June 15th, 1882. During the years 1883-1884, the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe built or acquired and placed in operation 106 miles of railroad. This expansion

⁵ Of 640 acres each.

included a line of 54 miles from Cleburne to Dallas—originally a small local road called the Chicago, Texas & Mexican Central—acquired and opened August 1st, 1882. Also a 24-mile branch was opened from Avlin to Houston on May 1st, 1883, and another from Somerville, 28 miles eastward to Navasota, opened a month later. In 1885 the Company opened 89 miles more of new road; 71 miles of main line northwest to Brownwood, and 18 miles from Montgomery to Conroe.

On the same date when Congress granted to the Southern Kansas Railway the right of building from Kansas through Indian Territory a similar Act was passed granting to the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe the right to locate, construct, equip and operate a railway, telegraph and telephone line at a point to be selected by the Company on the Red River north of the northern boundary of Cook County, Texas, and running "by the most practicable route" through the Indian Territory to a point on the southern boundary of Kansas. When in April, 1886, it became rumored that the Atchison contemplated the purchase of the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe and the creation of a through main line from Kansas City to Galveston, the citizens of Fort Worth on April 13th held a large meeting at which \$30,000 was subscribed and a right-of-way guaranteed to aid the enterprise. On or about the 16th of April engineers began to survey the new route north from their city and within a little more than a year as indicated, connection was made with the Southern Kansas at what now is Purcell, Oklahoma, about 172 miles north of Fort Worth.

The Atchison Company purchased the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe through an agreement made on date of March 3rd, 1886, supplemented by an additional agreement concluded the 30th of the same month. The purchase was offi-



SAN ANGELO, ONE OF THE MANY ATTRACTIVE STATIONS ON THE SANTA FE

cially announced by President Strong on May 15th in a circular addressed to the Santa Fe stockholders. At this time the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe comprised about 1,000 miles of lines completed or in process of construction, of which about 670 miles were in actual operation. This mileage included a main line from Galveston to Fort Worth with branches from Cleburne to Dallas; from Temple to Coleman, and from Somerville to Conroe, together with one or two minor branches. These lines traversed a region for the most part well-settled, and which was devoted chiefly to cattle-raising and farming. Here and there they touched some good tracts of timber. Besides providing for the construction of the road north from Fort Worth into Indian Territory, the agreement of purchase stipulated that the branch from Cleburne to Dallas be extended 100 miles northeast to Paris, Texas, where a connection would be made with the St. Louis & San Francisco, which was building its St. Louis line southwest into Texas.

The sale was made on the basis of 1,000 miles of lines built or to be built. For the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe, therefore, the Atchison Company gave its stock at par in exchange for the stock issued or to be issued by the Gulf Company and at the rate of \$8,000 per mile. Thus the purchase price was \$8,000,000, which was the authorized capital of the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe. In addition to this payment of \$8,000,000 of its stock, the Santa Fe assumed the bonded debt of the Gulf road which was bonded at the rate of \$17,000 per mile, comprising a first mortgage of \$12,000 and a second mortgage of \$5,000 for each mile of main track.

Thus for \$25,000 per mile the Atchison Company purchased a railroad system that crossed the great state of Texas, with extensive feeder lines already in operation. With

this purchase the Santa Fe acquired a commanding position in Texas and a new main line from Kansas to the Gulf of Mexico. It secured access to the important and fast-growing cities of Fort Worth, Dallas, and Houston; and it secured at Galveston, one of the greatest seaports in the country, an invaluable outlet with wharves and terminal facilities all of which became the property of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Company. Already a line of steamers was plying between New York and Galveston, through which latter port Texas was then receiving most of her eastern goods. The Santa Fe management shrewdly believed that this ocean traffic would benefit Kansas as well as strengthen their road's connections. It would open a new market for Kansas products, placing that state on a footing with California, with a direct line to a seaport of the first importance. And finally, in the acquisition of the strategic Gulf route the position of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe was safeguarded. Quoting President Strong, "It would secure to the Atchison Company independence of any attempt of rival lines to close the doors of trade against us or to cripple or embarrass our business." Incidentally it was believed with reason that the traffic of the new line, which would be exchanged with the Santa Fe lines in Kansas and Indian Territory would be profitable—enough to pay interest on the Gulf Company bonds and dividends on the Atchison stock invested. Likewise the Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe property was bound to advance in value each year. Strong's policy of vigorous expansion was achieving large results.

Yet this expansion was not confined to Texas in 1886. Simultaneously with the advance across Indian Territory, the invasion of Northern Texas and the acquisition of the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe, the Atchison Company was cov-

ering Kansas with branch lines, of which more than 400 miles were constructed that year. In the month of January the Santa Fe stockholders were informed that the rapid growth of Kansas during the previous two years had made desirable the construction of new lines in that state, so located as to add to the earnings of the Company and to protect its interests against unfriendly competition. To that end certain charters recently acquired were to be consolidated into a single corporation under the title of Chicago, Kansas & Western Railroad Company. The new lines as planned were to run through some of the best and most improved sections of Kansas and it was thought that they would add much to the earnings and greatly strengthen the position of the System. That is to say, the directors believed that the construction of these branches would create more traffic for the Santa Fe railroad and by rendering the Santa Fe system more compact they would serve to prevent rival companies from invading Santa Fe "territory" in Kansas. When completed, the Chicago, Kansas & Western would aggregate 450 miles of track. The road was to be constructed and equipped with a limited amount of rolling stock at an estimated cost of \$14,000 per mile,⁶ or for a total of \$6,300,000, of which there was expected about \$700,000 of local aid in the shape of county, township or

* While to-day certain theorists contend that railroads are greatly overcapitalized, it should be borne in mind that these western roads, while built at a nominal initial expense, were constructed pretty much in the "rough" with light steel or iron tracks and with little or no ballast. In case of the Santa Fe, millions of dollars have been spent bettering the original lines, relaying with heavy steel, improving the road-bed, spreading rock ballast, erecting steel and concrete bridges, etc. Also the Western roads, as has been shown from time to time, have developed the country through which they pass and virtually created their own traffic. It is ridiculous to attempt to value railroads on the mere basis of reproducing the property.

municipal bonds. It was planned to issue Chicago, Kansas & Western first mortgage 5% 40-year bonds at the rate of \$14,000 per mile; and 40-year income bonds at the rate of \$7,000 per mile, the interest non-cumulative, limited to 6% and dependent wholly upon earnings. The capital stock of the Company was limited to \$10,000 per mile, including issues to towns and counties in exchange for their bonds. This stock was to be held in the Company treasury as an investment. The bonds were offered to the Atchison stockholders on the basis of \$1,000 in firsts and \$500 of incomes for each \$1,000 of cash subscribed. By way of protecting the investors the Atchison and its auxiliary, the Southern Kansas Company, agreed to operate the new lines that were to connect with the lines of the Santa Fe system, under favorable leases ⁷ which agreed to pro-rate all the freight and passenger business interchanged. In addition it was promised to pay to the Chicago, Kansas & Western an annual rebate of 10% on its gross earnings and to continue this rebate so long as it might be needed to help pay in full the interest on the bonds of the new company. Thus carefully organized the money was speedily raised, while construction began at once and was pushed with vigor. Before the end of the year about 402 miles were completed, giving to the Atchison Company a literal network of railroads in Kansas with a total of about 2,400 miles in that state.

The Chicago, Kansas & Western roads constructed in 1886, included a cut-off line 84 miles in length from Hutchinson to Kinsley, and branches or extensions from Great Bend, Little River, Independence, Chanute, Mulvane, Colony, Osage City, Ellinor, Larned, and Benedict. Moreover, the Florence, El Dorado & Walnut Valley had been extended

⁷ As has been shown frequently, this of course was merely a step toward the formal acquisition of the Chicago, Kansas & Western.

about 19 and the Howard Branch 8 miles; while additions to the Southern Kansas Railway aggregated about 90 miles. A grand total of 508 miles of Santa Fe lines were constructed in Kansas and Indian Territory that year, not to mention the acquisition of the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe which was building rapidly. For the year 1886 the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe expended more than \$7,650,000 in building new railroads exclusive of the \$8,000,000 paid for the Gulf lines.

At the close of 1886 the Company owned or controlled 4,431 miles of railroad besides the Atlantic & Pacific of 918 miles in which the Santa Fe, though nominally but a half owner, was really the dominant interest. Backed by the confidence of his directors, with vast financial resources at his command, and assisted by Mr. Robinson and a splendid corps of engineers, President Strong had brought into existence a great railroad which was as yet hemmed in on the east by the Missouri River. A policy of aggressive expansion now demanded an independent eastern outlet, and as the year drew to a close the Company was organizing its great energies for a master achievement.

CHAPTER XI

A DREAM FULFILLED

ON the 24th of January, 1887, the stock markets of Boston, New York, and London announced for sale \$15,000,000 first mortgage 5% gold bonds of the Chicago, Santa Fe and California Railway Company. These bonds, which were to run 50 years, were guaranteed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company, and were secured by a first mortgage on the entire new road as projected, excepting about 100 miles of existing road on which there was a prior lien of \$1,500,000. As a consideration for this guarantee, the Atchison was to receive the entire \$30,000,000 stock issue of the Chicago, Santa Fe & California, thereby gaining control through a direct ownership of two-thirds of its authorized capital.

At the beginning of the year 1887 the Santa Fe system included through direct ownership, joint interest or control about 5,350 miles of railway with the Missouri River as an eastern terminus. Having obtained an outlet to the Pacific Coast and the Gulf of Mexico, the securing of a satisfactory eastern terminal soon became a fixed problem, which President Strong was not long in solving. Over its extensive mileage the Santa Fe Company was creating and handling an enormous traffic, which justly demanded an eastern outlet beyond the Missouri. Toward the close of the year 1886 the directors unanimously decided that the interests of their Company required the absolute control of an independent

line to Chicago. The natural growth of the road had been west and south and so long as the lines of competing railroads had ended on the Missouri River, the management were content to accept that river as the dividing line for traffic between the Santa Fe and Eastern roads. But now some of the lines east of the Missouri had become aggressive and had invaded or were about to invade Santa Fe territory in spite of that Company's efforts to solidify its system of lines in Kansas. Building across northeastern Kansas, the Burlington had extended its main line to Denver. The Missouri Pacific and the Rock Island had started operations in Kansas and besides building extensive branches, both these companies were soon to cross the state and enter Colorado. All this activity was lawful competition, yet such an unprecedented invasion of Santa Fe territory by eastern lines to whom the Santa Fe hitherto had delivered its east-bound traffic at the Missouri River simply meant a division of the Atchison's business, which business that Company had sought through the construction of an elaborate system of extensions and feeder lines to protect. In view of its vast interests and far-reaching mileage such an invasion would simply place the Santa Fe in an inferior position as to the making of rates. And since the Company had a number of new lines as yet unproductive, it must safeguard its business to meet its heavy interest obligations.

Vigorous action was necessary. The easiest method for solving these potential difficulties was to make traffic agreements with the invading companies. But the directors believed that a traffic agreement was at best uncertain and unsatisfactory. Such an agreement, it was held, generally fell into neglect or became odious, and only so long as each party had equal powers to enforce it, was a traffic arrangement safe. A temporary makeshift arrangement was worse

than useless. And traffic agreements to protect the interests of the Atchison Company must be permanent; yet no amount of experience or skill could provide for future contingencies that were likely to arise. The history of such contracts showed that they were effective only so long as it was the interest of the parties concerned to make them so; and they were generally broken as soon as they became burdensome to either party. Moreover, it was extremely doubtful that a traffic agreement, however drawn, could be enforced against the member breaking it, since the law looked with disfavor upon such contracts, holding them contrary to the public interest, which interest naturally demanded the utmost freedom of action on the part of transportation companies.

Not to mention these important considerations the extensive Santa Fe mileage with its heavy and increasing traffic converging on the Missouri would make a Chicago line one of much value. The great traffic center of the Middle West, Chicago, then as now, was the great central market; it was the natural source of supply and the natural market for the territory served by the Santa Fe. It was justly held that for all Santa Fe patrons west of the Missouri River, Chicago offered attractions to shipper and to traveler, superior to those of any other western city. For Chicago was not merely the leading central market; it was the great central point of concentration and distribution for all the West, the Great Lakes, Canada and the East. And in view of the wonderful growth of the Santa Fe railroad, President Strong declared, that "The people along our whole system, above all other things, want direct, rapid, and unobstructed communication with Chicago, with only one carrier to deal with in the entire transaction; and they will patronize the road which furnishes it." In short, Chicago was the logical eastern terminus for the Santa Fe system. A Chicago

extension would relieve the Atchison Company of any further dependence upon connections at the Missouri River and make it independent in competing for all business to and from the East in so far as its own territory was concerned. Furthermore such an extension would enable the Santa Fe to make its rates over its own lines between Chicago and the Pacific Coast, and between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, a position to which no other railroad has yet attained. To do full justice to its traffic requirements, to protect its interests by making itself independent of destructive competition, and to fulfill its ambition for a railroad that would extend from the Lakes to the Gulf and to the Pacific Coast, the Santa Fe must then strike directly from Kansas City to Lake Michigan, and under the indomitable leadership of William B. Strong, the dream of building to Chicago became a splendid reality in the year 1887.

To carry out this project the Chicago, Santa Fe and California Railway Company was incorporated under the laws of Illinois on December 3rd, 1886. During the previous year surveys had been made between Kansas City and Chicago under the nominal direction of C. F. Morse of the Kansas City stock yards. At the outset three propositions for getting to Chicago had presented themselves. One plan which was advocated by Chief Engineer Albert A. Robinson involved the immediate construction of an air line, substantially the same as the present route from Kansas City to the Mississippi River, and thence running into Chicago on a course nearly parallel with the Burlington railroad. Such a route would have been considerably shorter than the line actually in use to-day. Another plan proposed was to buy the Chicago & Alton Railway, which would have given the Santa Fe access to St. Louis as well as to Chicago. But the Alton Company, it is said, wanted \$38,000,000 for their

road and the dominant interests in the Santa Fe directorate thought this price too high, so the Alton plan was dropped.

A third proposition aimed to construct only as much of a direct line as was necessary and to purchase such minor lines as could be used to advantage. This was the plan which finally was adopted. With a compromise policy thus agreed upon, it was found possible to reduce the amount of main line about 100 miles through the purchase of a small road leading into Chicago from Pekin, Illinois. Shortly after its incorporation, in December, 1886, the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway Company acquired the road and other properties of the Chicago & St. Louis Railway Company, which extended from Chicago to Pekin, about 154 miles, including a short spur from Streator to Coalville. By the explicit terms of its charter the Chicago, Santa Fe & California was authorized to build an extension of the Chicago & St. Louis line from Streator, Illinois, to Fort Madison, Iowa, connecting at the latter place with the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway Company of Iowa, which in turn was to be joined to an extension of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe from Kansas City. It was authorized, further, to construct a line from Pekin to Springfield, Illinois.

The Chicago & St. Louis Railway Company, which the Santa Fe absorbed, was known originally in railway circles as the "Hinckley road." This line was first chartered as the Chicago & Plainfield Railroad on February 24th, 1859. Nothing worth while seems to have been accomplished until about the year 1869 when Francis E. Hinckley, a Chicago promoter associated with Philip B. Shumway and Colonel Ralph Plumb, became interested in the enterprise. These gentlemen, with Hinckley as President, and some of their friends, organized the Chicago, Pekin & Southwestern Railway, and with the financial backing of Moses Taylor, Presi-

dent of the National City Bank of New York, started building in the early Seventies. In January, 1878, the road was completed from Pekin to Streator, about 64 miles northeast in the direction of Chicago; and in 1876 it was opened to Mazon Bridge near Coal City, Illinois, about 30 miles farther. Subsequently, the road got into financial troubles—the usual fate of small railroads—and in May, 1881, was sold under mortgage foreclosure.

On May 10th, 1882, the Chicago, St. Louis & Western Railroad Company was chartered to establish a line from Chicago to Pekin, a distance of about 154 miles. Construction began shortly afterward and before the close of the following year this company had built a railroad between Coal City and Chicago. On the 1st day of January, 1882, the new corporation absorbed the Chicago, Pekin & Southwestern with all the latter's property and effects. A year later still another railway company, the Chicago & St. Louis, was formed, which in turn took over the property of the Chicago, St. Louis & Western on May 1st, 1885; and on the 21st of the following December the entire Chicago & St. Louis railroad was opened for traffic from Chicago to Pekin¹ only to pass to the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway Company within a year.

As was stated, the last mentioned company had \$1,500,000 outstanding against its securities in the form of a prior lien and this sum represented the bonded debt of the Chicago & St. Louis road, which obligation the Santa Fe naturally assumed when the final transfer took place. The Chicago & St. Louis was practically without terminal facilities in Chicago, since its tracks ended at an old frame depot on 23rd Street. Furthermore, having been strictly a pro-

¹ The road was still under the presidency of F. E. Hinckley, its chief promoter—hence the "Hinckley road."

moter's road, this line was not in good condition. It had numerous heavy grades and was laid with inferior rails, which, together with a defective roadbed, made it wholly inadequate for the traffic of a transcontinental system.

At Kansas City the terminal situation was less difficult. Already as was pointed out, the Santa Fe had acquired an interest in the Kansas City Belt Line which extended east to Big Blue Junction, eight miles out. The final problem of getting into Chicago therefore was reduced to the construction of 350.6 miles of new line between Big Blue Junction, Missouri, and the town of Ancona, Illinois; the rebuilding of about 100 miles of the main line of the Chicago & St. Louis railroad; and the securing of terminal rights and facilities in Chicago. This plan of operation also necessitated the construction of numerous bridges, together with many overhead crossings. In the matter of bridge building, the Missouri and Mississippi rivers alone furnished a big undertaking, since both have wide channels, while the Missouri is one of the most treacherous and difficult of all streams in which to erect piers. No unusual problems in roadbed construction were presented except about 100 miles of glacial drift between Bucklin, Missouri, and Fort Madison, Iowa, which was to prove heavy work.

With the inception of the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway Company of Illinois, a company by the same name had been chartered in Iowa to construct a railroad from Fort Madison, about 16 miles across the southeast corner of Iowa and through northern Missouri to connect with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe at or near Kansas City. On the 15th of July, 1887, this Iowa company was merged with the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway Company of Illinois and operations were carried to completion under the latter name.

To facilitate the work of bridging the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, and for the privilege of collecting tolls when the structures were finished, the Sibley Bridge Company and the Mississippi Railroad & Toll Bridge Company, capitalized at \$1,000,000 and \$900,000, respectively, were organized under Federal charters. The actual capitalized indebtedness of the Sibley Bridge Company represented \$850,000 of first mortgage bonds; while that of the Mississippi River Railroad & Toll Bridge Company was \$650,000 in similar bonds. The securities of these companies were owned by the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway Company, which guaranteed the interest on the bonds as a rental of the bridges when finished.

Having organized for business, the task of putting a railroad into Chicago was thus reduced to field operations—to the execution of plans that had been so carefully laid. The president, directors and the attorneys for the corporation had perfected their organization. It was now left for the engineers to build bridges and make the dirt fly. And they did. In February, 1887, President Strong ordered Chief Engineer Robinson to go ahead, to push the line through and have it ready for operation by the end of the year. This order was carried literally into effect, and work started all along the line with tremendous energy.

The grading and bridge building were let to private contractors, and approximately five thousand men were employed along the entire route. This force was increased later by about two thousand railroad track and structural workers. The organization of the engineering staff and this body of workmen was not unlike that of an army. Over the entire enterprise with headquarters in Topeka, but almost continually in the field, was Albert A. Robinson, Chief Engineer. In charge of the Eastern Division from the

Mississippi to Chicago was P. F. Barr, with headquarters at Fort Madison. The so-called Western Division between Big Blue Junction and the Des Moines River was under B. F. Booker, whose offices were in Kansas City.

Complete harmony prevailed between the Santa Fe and the various competing lines, and this mutual good-will aided greatly in the construction work; for it thereby became possible to use the tracks of other lines for assembling supplies at crossing points. At Carrolton, Missouri, materials were received from the Wabash and Burlington roads. At Bucklin, Missouri, the Burlington tracks were again used, and similar services were obtained from the Northwest line of the Wabash at La Plata, 29 miles east. Still farther eastward, similar trackage facilities were obtained as follows: At Hurdland, with the Quincy, Missouri & Pacific; at Medill, with the Keokuk & Western; at Dallas City and Galesburg, Illinois, with the Burlington, and at Chillicothe, Illinois, with the Rock Island. These respective stations range from thirteen to forty-eight miles apart, and it was the policy of the Santa Fe engineers to converge at one place enough track materials and supplies with which to meet the construction gangs building from the next point, this scheme making it possible to hurry the work along the entire route at the same time. The whole course of operations was thus divided into so many construction divisions at the ends of which the various gangs of men were continually working toward each other to close the intervening space. Splendid progress was made, the track being put down at the rate of four miles a day. The last gap was closed at a point not far from Medill, Missouri, on December 31st, 1887, at 6 o'clock in the evening. But as winter had now set in, it was decided not to open the line for regular through traffic until spring.

Coincident with the general work of construction and in accordance with the plans adopted, the Chicago & St. Louis road was rebuilt. Not only was heavier steel put down, but the maximum grades were reduced from six-tenths to three-tenths per cent., or from thirty-two to sixteen feet per mile, thus making a railroad fit for heavy traffic.

Building the Santa Fe to Chicago required the construction of five large bridges; ² those spanning the Illinois, Mississippi, Des Moines, Grand, and Missouri Rivers. References will be made only to their general dimensions, together with a brief discussion of the Sibley bridge, the largest and most representative of the list. The Illinois River bridge had a total length of 14,175 feet, comprising a channel structure of 752 feet with three 150 foot spans and one of 302 feet. The approaches aggregated more than 200 yards. The Fort Madison bridge erected over the Mississippi River was authorized by Congress in an Act approved March 3rd, 1887. Commenced that same month, the bridge was practically completed December 7th, 1887, at a bare initial cost of over \$580,000. It had an extreme length of 2,963 feet, consisting of eight spans and an east approach of about 350 yards. The channel structure comprised four spans each 237½ feet, one of 275 and two of 150 feet, and one draw span 400 feet long. The approach had seventy-four 14-foot spans. The Des Moines River bridge was 900 feet in length, while the structure crossing the Grand River was 459 feet in the clear.

The Sibley bridge deserves special mention because the shifting course and peculiar geological conditions of the Missouri River bed presented serious engineering problems. This structure is probably the most imposing bridge of the Santa

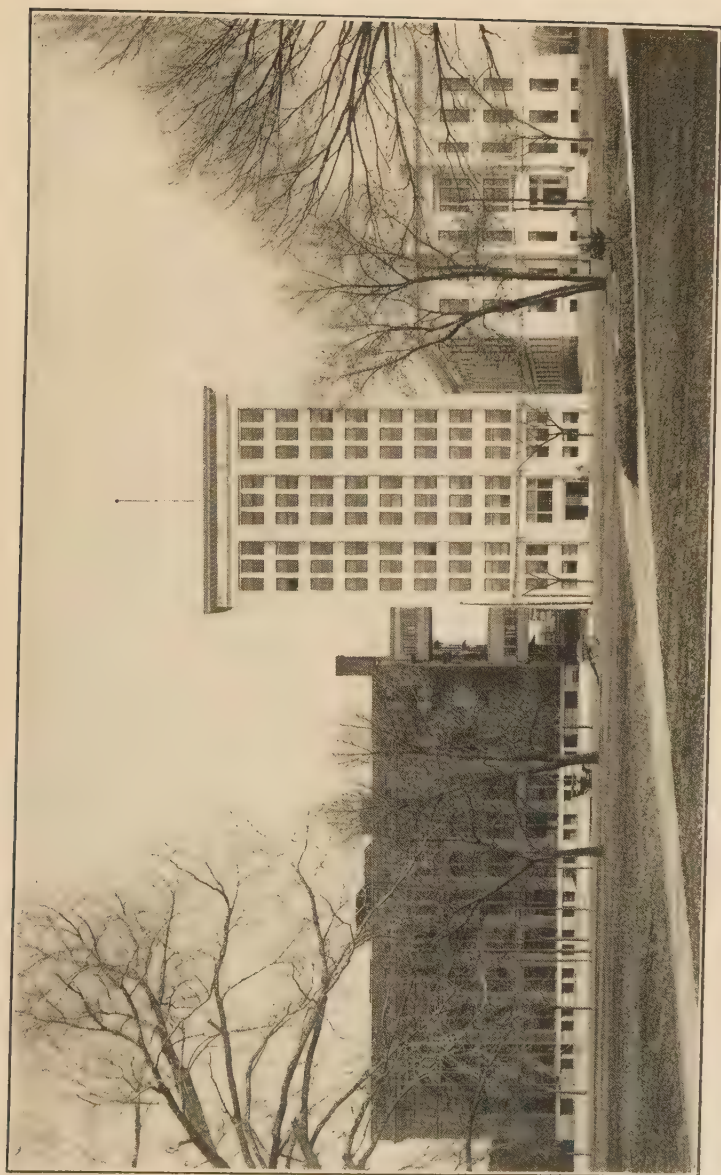
²Not to mention a large number of small structures and overhead crossings.

Fe system. It was built under an Act of Congress which became a law July 3rd, 1884, granting to the Kansas City, Topeka & Western Railroad Company,³ its assigns and successors the right to build and maintain a railroad bridge⁴ with approaches thereto over the Missouri River at or near Sibley in Jackson County, Missouri. The Company was given an alternative of building either a low bridge with spans not less than 160 feet in the clear, or a high bridge with spans at least 300 feet in the clear, the lowest part of the super-structure in the latter case to be at least 50 feet above high water mark. With the organization of the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Railway Company these rights were transferred to the Sibley Bridge Company, with Albert A. Robinson, chief engineer, and Octave Chanute as consulting engineer in charge of the enterprise. Associated with Mr. Chanute was John F. Wallace, resident engineer, assisted by W. G. Breithaupt. Although a low bridge had previously been favored, it was at last decided to build a high bridge. Through careful surveys it was learned that the river bed had shifted about 1,800 feet during the years 1878 to 1886. Under such circumstances a low structure not only would have caused heavy expenditures for controlling the channel, but it would have been unfavorable for navigation.

Two points of location, the upper, known as Sibley Point, and the lower, called Sibley Reef, were considered favorably as a site for the bridge. The upper point was in the general

³ This will be remembered as the corporation whereby the Santa Fe secured entrance to Kansas City and the one in the name of which the Southern Kansas system was purchased.

⁴ In addition, the builders were empowered to provide for the passage of vehicles and foot passengers at reasonable rates of toll. The act of 1887, authorizing the construction of the Fort Madison bridge over the Mississippi, was substantially the same in its main provisions.



GENERAL OFFICE, TOPEKA, KANSAS

direction of the railroad and it would have shortened the route about one mile, yet this point was rejected because it was located at the upper end of a curve in the river, where the channel was extremely unstable and much wider than at the point below. The lower point, or Sibley Reef, although requiring a more circuitous route, was chosen because the channel here was about 550 feet narrower than at Sibley Point. The location of the site selected furthermore offered bed-rock ranging from 42 to 47 feet beneath low water, as against a depth of but 30 to 40 feet at Sibley Point. Sibley Reef, where the bridge was located, derived its name from a reef of boulders stretching nearly half way across the river.

The bridge rested on eight piers of masonry, for the erection of which ground was first broken on March 23d, 1887. These substructures were finished December 15th of the same year. The work of building the iron superstructure was begun on the viaduct or east approach July 25th, 1887, and was completed, between piers No. 2 and No. 3, on the 11th of February, 1888. Both the masonry and the superstructure of the bridge were let to private contractors and in order to transport the necessary materials and supplies, a service or work track was connected with the Wabash railroad, three miles distant. Work proceeded rapidly from the beginning and the whole structure was finished in quicker time than any bridge of similar size that had as yet been put across the Missouri River.

The first carload of material for the superstructure reached the bridge site July 5th, 1887, and the first tower for the erection of the viaduct or east approach was raised on July 25th. Operations were hurried throughout the late summer and the autumn months, until December 19th, when a blizzard interrupted matters. For about four weeks, prog-

ress was impossible because of heavy storms which covered the structure with snow and ice while the thermometer ranged from 10 to 25 degrees below zero. Three lives were lost in attempting to carry on the work during this bad weather period.

In order to start traffic over the new road, false work strong enough to bear trains was erected between piers "2" and "3" and across a span still in construction. The first train crossed the bridge on January 26th, 1888. The work progressed without delaying traffic and on February 11th, 1888, the bridge was substantially completed at an outlay of more than \$770,000. As finished, the Sibley bridge⁵ contained the following specifications: An east viaduct approach of 1,900 feet and no west approach, while the total length of the bridge over the channel was 2,153 feet, consisting in the main of three 400-foot spans together with one of 200, one of 250 and two of 175 feet respectively.

Late in January, 1888, accommodation train service was started over the new line from Argentine, Kansas. The Kansas City terminals were not used until the 29th of the following April, when the entire road was taken over by the operating department of the Chicago, Santa Fe & California Company.

To secure terminals in Chicago, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad in Chicago Company was organized with Norman Williams, a prominent attorney, as president. This company had a capital stock of \$5,000,000 with an authorized funded debt of \$10,000,000. Of the latter amount the sum of \$5,500,000 was actually raised and guaranteed by the Atchison Company as a separate obligation. The funds thus provided were used to build 2.12 miles of railroad

⁵ In 1912-13 the bridge was greatly enlarged, the better to accommodate heavy traffic.

in the city and to secure necessary trackage and terminal properties, such as station, yard, crossing and dock privileges, together with freight-houses and elevator facilities. This big undertaking, which was consummated in the summer of 1887, required many intricate plans and large expenditures of money. In carrying out their plans the Company followed a generous and fair policy. There was little or no occasion for condemnation proceedings in getting the desired properties, and about \$3,316,000 was expended for real estate before any construction work was started in the city. A full account of these matters is simply a record of humdrum real estate sales and transfers, the details of which are of no special interest or importance here. Numerous crossing privileges were obtained largely through common reciprocal agreements with other lines. The initial expenditures in Chicago aggregated about \$5,700,000, but the Santa Fe gained short and direct access to the heart of the city.

When viewed from a matter-of-fact standpoint the story of how the Santa Fe built its line to Chicago does not differ greatly from many of the enterprises conducted by this great company. Thus regarded, it is merely an account of thorough organization, careful planning, of mechanical skill, the efficient handling of men, of good bargaining, and tactful procedure. But as to the execution of this project, as to how 100 miles of railroad were rebuilt, and the two largest rivers of the continent successfully bridged; as to how 350 miles of main line, including 48,106 feet, or more than nine miles of bridges and trestles, were constructed, all within eleven months—this must rank with the great engineering achievements of the 19th century.

Yet building to Chicago, splendid performance as it was, did not absorb the expansive energies of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe during the eventful year 1887. Entrance

to St. Joseph, Missouri, was obtained, first, by constructing a 19-mile extension of the original main line from Atchison. This work was done under the corporate name of the St. Joseph & Santa Fe Railroad Company. Next, a railroad about 76 miles long which connected St. Joseph with the new Chicago, Santa Fe & California main line at Lexington Junction, Missouri, was purchased from the Wabash Company for about \$800,000. These properties, which gave the Santa Fe access to St. Joseph from two directions, were then consolidated into the St. Joseph, St. Louis & Santa Fe Railroad Company and became a valuable auxiliary to the Santa Fe system.

The St. Louis, Kansas City & Colorado, a small railroad which extended from St. Louis, about 61 miles, to Union, Missouri, was likewise bought that year. This road was completely isolated from the Santa Fe system; but it had depot rights in St. Louis. It was considered a strategic property with which a main line might be connected from Kansas City and a foothold thereby secured in the metropolis as soon as the Santa Fe Company felt justified in building another road across the State of Missouri.

In Eastern Kansas a 46-mile branch—the Leavenworth, Northern & Southern—was built to connect Leavenworth with the main line at Wilder.

In Colorado some trouble arose once more, due, it is said, to the refusal of W. S. Jackson of the Denver & Rio Grande to extend certain trackage concessions north of Pueblo in accordance with the final settlement of the Grand Cañon troubles in 1880. Angered by this situation and determined once for all to have an independent road to the Colorado metropolis, Strong organized the Denver & Santa Fe Railway Company in March, 1887, and promptly built a new main line of 116 miles from Pueblo to Denver. Incidentally

he made his company secure in the capital by purchasing for \$800,000 the Denver Circle railroad, a terminal line about eight miles in extent.

Not to mention 300 miles of extensions in Indian Territory and the Texas Panhandle, which were started the preceding year, the Santa Fe in 1887 built 502 miles of sundry branch lines in Kansas. This was done under the name of the Chicago, Kansas & Western, thus giving that vigorous auxiliary a total of over 903 miles of railroad, practically all of which was constructed within two years.

In Colorado a 10-mile extension at last brought the Santa Fe to the town of Cañon City. And out in Southern California the Company was increasing its power by constructing about 185 miles of branch lines. To build and consolidate these California branches a new corporation, called the California Central, was formed, which was soon merged with the California Southern and the entire group then taken into the Santa Fe combination.

During 1887 the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Company expended for real estate and the construction of new railroads \$40,775,000; it spent over \$4,180,000 for improving its older lines, and over \$800,000 for additions and improvements to collateral properties. At the close of this remarkable year the Company owned, operated and controlled 7,373 miles of railroad. The little 28-mile Kansas Railroad of 1869 had within eighteen years become one of the greatest railroad systems of the world—a system that extended from Lake Michigan to the Pacific Coast, from Denver to the Gulf of California, and from Kansas to the Gulf of Mexico.

The dream of Cyrus Holliday was at last fulfilled.

SOURCE MATERIALS

Major Z. M. Pike: "An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi and through the Western Parts of Louisiana to the Sources of the Arkansaw, Kans., La Platte, and Pierre Jaun Rivers; Performed by Order of the Government of the United States During the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807. And a Tour Through the Interior Parts of New Spain When Conducted Through Those Provinces by Order of the Captain General in the Year 1807." Philadelphia, 1810. The best source as to the early incentives for the Santa Fe trade.

Josiah Gregg: "Commerce of the Prairies." 2 vols. New York, 1844-1845. The work of a contemporary who spent several years as a merchant in the Santa Fe trade. The standard authority on the Santa Fe trail.

House Executive Documents, No. 1, 30th Congress, Sess. 2: Lieutenant Gilpin to R. Jones, Adjutant General, U. S. A.

House Executive Documents, No. 17, 31st Congr. Both documents contain interesting and valuable materials descriptive of the volume of traffic moving over the trail in the late Forties, together with numerous Indian outrages and the failure of Congress to provide adequate military protection for the overland traffic.

SPECIAL ACCOUNTS

Col. Henry Inman: "The Old Santa Fe Trail." New York, 1898. The most comprehensive single volume devoted to the subject. Covers the entire history of the trail from the Spanish *conquistadores* to the coming of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad. Inman quotes considerable source materials, and in his early chapters borrows heavily from Gregg.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Wm. R. Manning: "Diplomacy Concerning the Santa Fe Trail." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I, No. 4. An excellent study of the diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico in 1824-1825. The article is concerned chiefly with the diplomacy incident to marking the trail, in 1825, together with the mutual efforts of the two countries to encourage overland trade along this route.

Thomas Becknell's Journals, or "The Journals of Capt. Thomas Becknell from Boone's Lick to Santa Fe, and from Santa Cruz to Green River." *Missouri Hist. Review*, IV. An interesting fragment which devotes ten pages in describing a trip to Santa Fe. It tells nothing that is not to be learned from Gregg, and it in no way compares with Gregg in thoroughness and scope of treatment.

Chas. F. Lummis: "Pioneer Transportation in America: Its Curiosities and Its Romance." *McClure's Magazine*, Vols. 25 and 26. An interesting survey of the entire history of pioneer transportation in America from the 16th to the 19th century. The writer places stress upon the Eskimo dog teams as well as the mule teams of Latin America. Considerable attention is devoted to the old Vera Cruz trail in Mexico. As to the Santa Fe trail, we find practically nothing that is not presented in Gregg, or in Root and Connelley, "The Overland Stage to California."

GENERAL WORKS

H. H. Bancroft: Works, Vol. 15. "The North Mexican States." The monumental work on the history of the Pacific and Southwest states of the Union, as well as Latin North America. Is full of richly suggestive material.

L. Bradford Prince: "History of New Mexico." Kansas City, 1883. A well-organized and carefully written account that embodies the most important facts. Is especially valuable as a hand-book.

Helen Haines: "History of New Mexico." New York, 1891. A useful and convenient volume. Also contains interesting statistical and biographical data.

Katherine Coman: "Economic Beginnings of the Far West." New York, 1912. A scholarly and comprehensive work. Contains one chapter of value on the Santa Fe trail.

John B. McMaster: "History of the People of the United States." Vol. 5. A standard general work with which all students of American history are familiar.

Randall Parrish: "The Great Plains." Chicago, 1907. An entertaining historical sketch of the prairies. Touches the leading events, but in view of its wide scope the book is of small value to the research student of American history.

Frederic L. Paxson: "The Last American Frontier." New York, 1910. An interesting survey of the more important phases of frontier history from the 18th century down to the construction of the Pacific railroads. Is of value chiefly as an outline presentation of the main facts.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

The Archives of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Company at Topeka. The only sources where certain data such as contracts bearing upon the expansion of the road, statistical matter, engineering records, charters, and certain details of incorporation can be found.

Archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, at Topeka. Here the original correspondence between Col. R. I. Dodge and Governor Thos. Osborn relative to the vigilantes of Dodge City—as well as thousands of valuable documents on Western history—are found.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Private Papers of Cyrus K. Holliday. Invaluable with reference to the incorporation and organization of the Santa Fe

Company. The writer edited these papers and published them in the Santa Fe Magazine.

John E. Frost Manuscript. Especially prepared for the writer by John E. Frost, LL.D., of Topeka, former Land Commissioner, and the best living authority on the operations of the Santa Fe Land Department.

Private Papers of Albert A. Robinson, Former Chief Engineer and the real builder of original Santa Fe lines.

Jacob Wiebe's Narrative. A quaint account by a Mennonite bishop, in which the narrator tells in simple yet affecting style, the experiences which he and certain of his people had in leaving Russia and in settling on Santa Fe railroad lands in Kansas.

P. I. Bonebrake Manuscript. A short account, but of value in treating the early attempts of the Company to get financial aid in Kansas. Prepared for the writer by Mr. P. I. Bonebrake, of Topeka.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

In preparing this work, the writer has had correspondence with the following persons, and from whom some invaluable facts and suggestions have been received: Albert A. Robinson, Edward L. Copeland, Secretary and Treasurer of the A. T. & S. F. Ry. Company; John E. Frost, former Land Commissioner; Howell Jones, present Land Commissioner; J. C. Mohler, Secretary, Kansas State Board of Agriculture; Matt Weightman, Jr., Treasurer of Shawnee County; and George A. Root, Archives Clerk, Kansas State Historical Society. All these gentlemen are in Topeka, Kansas.

Other letters of value came from the following gentlemen: B. F. Rockafellow, one of the original incorporators of the Cañon City & San Juan Railroad Company, Cañon City, Colorado; the late Octave Chanute, famous engineer of Chicago; B. T. Lewis, of La Grange, Illinois; W. E. Bailey, General Auditor of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Company; and C. B. Schmidt, former Immigration Agent of this Company, both of Chicago; U. S. Land Office, Washington, D. C.; and Professor D. E. Harder of Hillsboro, Kansas.

PRINTED SOURCES

(a) *Official. Various Circulars* issued by the President or Directors of the Company, giving official explanations as to the adoption of certain policies, and as to the issuance of securities for the extension or the purchase of lines. Materials of the highest value.

Annual Reports of the Company. The official yearly reports of the President and directors to the stockholders of the Company. Contain much useful explanatory matter and a mass of financial, engineering, and traffic statistics invaluable to a careful study of the road and its affairs.

Manual No. 19 of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Company, issued by the Secretary-Treasurer. The official handbook of the Company, setting forth the essential facts of every corporation, alive or defunct, that is comprised within the Santa Fe System of railroads and collateral properties.

"The A. T. & S. F. in 1864." An official compilation of the original land grant and enabling acts with the resolutions of the Kansas Legislature.

(b) *Contemporary Publications.* The complete files of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, from 1871 to 1887 inclusive. A New York weekly newspaper devoted to corporate and financial matters, edited by financial experts, sane, impartial, and very accurate. This is unquestionably the best single source of information on corporation affairs in this country.

Files of the Topeka, Newton, Augusta, and Douglass (Kansas) newspapers for the years 1871-1872, and 1881 respectively; also the files of the Denver papers for 1878-1880. These newspapers were indispensable sources in securing local "color." The Topeka publications were also of great value in treating the early history of the road; while a history of the Grand Cañon troubles could scarcely be written without access to the contemporary accounts in the Denver newspapers.

(c) *Statutes: Federal.* U. S. Statutes at Large. 27th Congr. Sess. 1; 37th Congr. Sess. 3. 39th Congr. Sess. 1; 40th Congr. 1867-1869, Treaties. 42nd Congr. Sess. 1 and 2; 43rd Congr. Sess. 2. Ditto, 44th Congr.; 48th Congr. Sess. 1, and 49th, second session.

State Laws. Compiled Statutes of Kansas, 1868. General Laws of New Mexico (Prince), 1880. The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897 (Gammel), Vol. 7. These works contain the original acts incorporating the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Company, together with its more important subsidiaries.

(d) *Miscellaneous Sources.* *Kansas State Historical Collections*, Topeka, Vols. 8 to 12, inclusive. Well-edited, containing much source material of great importance.

Gregg, "*Commerce of the Prairies.*" Mentioned under Santa Fe Trail.

Poor's Manual of Railroads. Published annually and contains a bare historical outline, the leading financial details, and the more important operating statistics, of each railroad in the country. The standard reference work on American railroads, though not free from errors.

Congressional Globe, 37th Congr., 2nd and 3rd Sessions. For a congressional history of Pacific railroad legislation.

Smithsonian Institution, Report of the National Museum, 1887. A valuable article on the extinction of the buffalo, by Wm. T. Hornaday, Superintendent of the National Zoölogical Park.

18th Biennial Report, Kansas State Board of Agriculture. Contains exhaustive statistics necessary in Ch. V.

U. S. Reports, 92: Oct. 1875. For Supreme Court Decision on conflicting land titles—railroad lands vs. lands ceded by treaty to the Indians.

Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers, Vol. 21, on the Sibley Bridge.

GENERAL WORKS

Emory R. Johnson: "American Railway Transportation." New York, 1908 edition. A useful reference work by an authority in transportation matters.

Cy Warman: "The Story of the Railroad," New York, 1906. An interesting sketch of the leading events connected with the early growth of Western railroads. Contains some interesting information, but often strains for dramatic effect and is not always reliable.

C. F. Carter: "When Railroads Were New." New York, 1909. A popular and fairly accurate survey of early railroad expansion in this country.

H. H. Bancroft: Works, 15 and 17. Indispensable to every student of Western history.

F. Hall: History of Colorado. Chicago, 1890. Vols. 2 and 3. A large work, judicious, lucid, and quite accurate. Written from a local viewpoint, this history presents a useful outline of the main events of the Grand Cañon War.

Root and Connelley: "The Overland Stage to California." Topeka, 1901. An excellent compilation of materials, narrative and statistical, bearing upon overland routes in general. While the standard work in its field, the book is of but incidental importance to the historian of the Santa Fe Railroad.

GENERAL MISCELLANEOUS

Frank Spearman: "The Strategy of Great Railroads." New York, 1905. A series of interesting popular articles on the leading railroads of the United States. Is chiefly concerned with the strategy of their respective geographical locations, together with the problems of leadership involved.

J. B. Sanborn: "Congressional Land Grants in Aid of Railways." Madison, 1899. A very brief outline study of the subject. The writer makes good use of his references, but he has attempted too much for a short monograph.

F. L. Paxson: "The Last American Frontier." See under Santa Fe Trail. By the same author, "The Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier in America." Amer. Hist. Assoc. Reports, 1907, I. A sketch of the early history of the various transcontinental lines. Pays but slight attention to the A. T. & S. F.

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John Moody, in Moody's Magazine, VI. A bare outline sketch of the Santa Fe Railroad.

F. W. Blackmar: "Life of Chas. Robinson." Topeka, 1902. Useful for the early career of Cyrus Holliday and the founding of Topeka.

J. P. Davis: "The Union Pacific Railroad, Chicago, 1894. An authentic and scholarly treatment, though dreary reading in places. Of some value with regard to Pacific land grants.

E. V. Smalley: "The Northern Pacific Railroad." New York, 1883. One of the earliest attempts at writing railroad history in this country.

Chas. S. Gleed, on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, Vol. 14. A scholarly man, a Director of the Company, and for over thirty years associated with Santa Fe affairs, Mr. Gleed writes authoritatively. A useful collection of facts.

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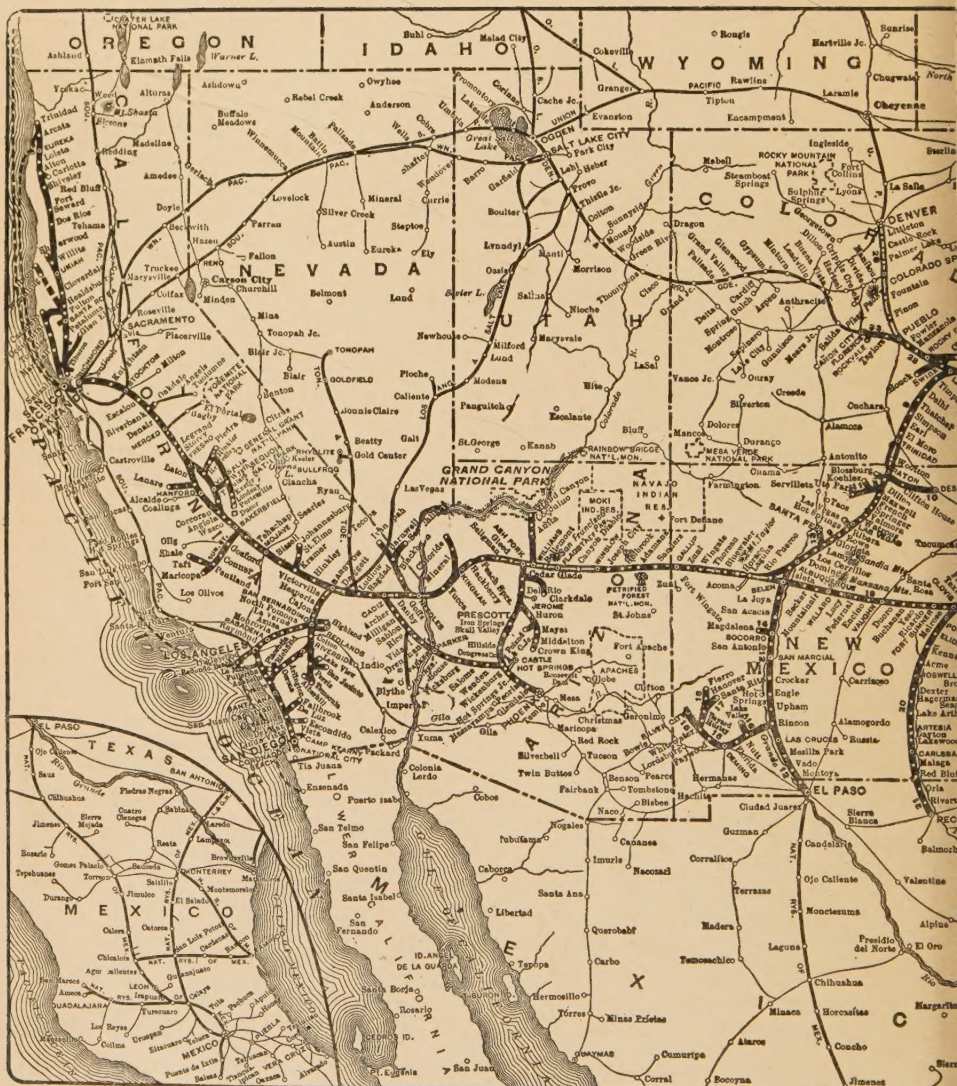
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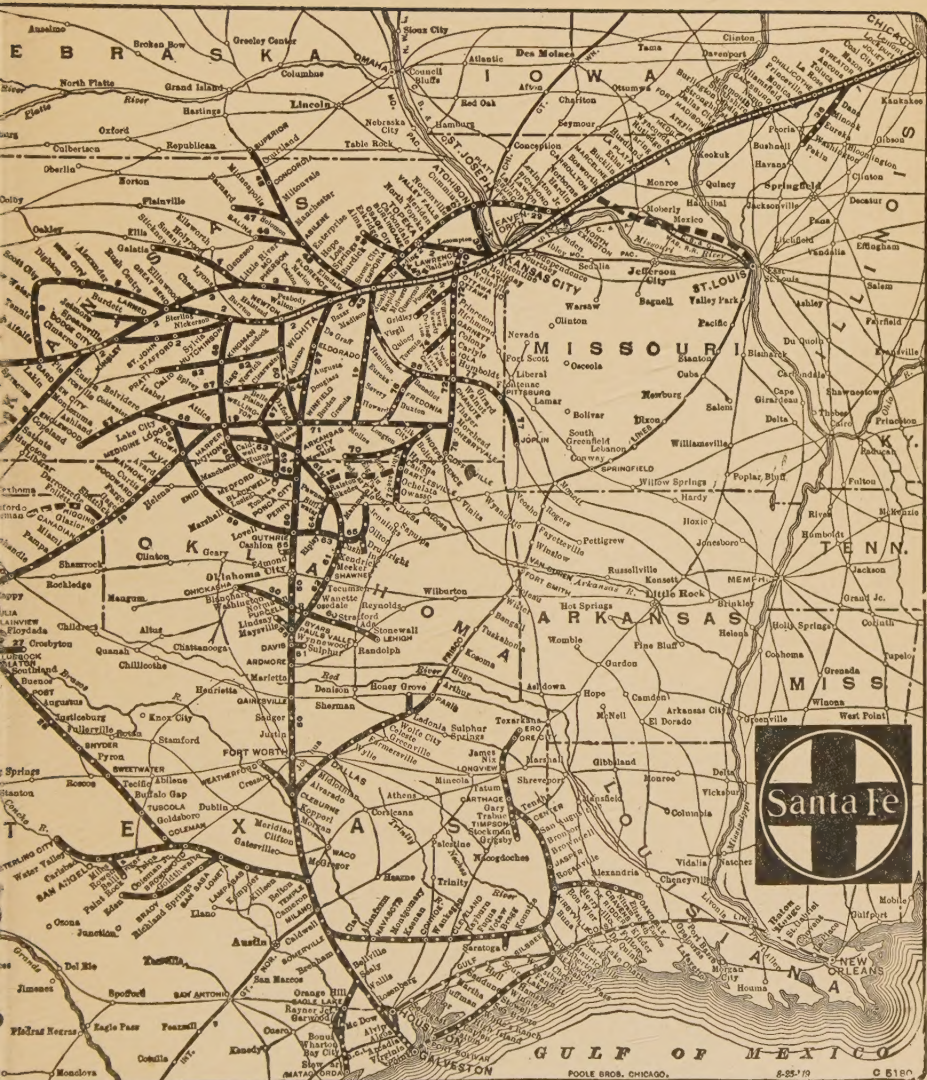
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— Santa Fe Through Lines — Double Track

MAP OF THE PRE



Under Construction
 Santa Fe System

Roads
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